

Lest We Forget

REMEMBERING PEACEMAKERS ON ANZAC DAY





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Introduction

Increasing numbers of people rise before dawn to take part in Anzac ceremonies around Aotearoa New Zealand. Gathering reverently as the velvet blackness of night gives way to the first rays of the sun, people remember the sacrifices of those men and women who went to war, who risked and gave their lives to defend what they believed in.

On the 25 April 1915 soldiers from New Zealand and Australia landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula in Turkey. Fighting as part of ANZAC (Australia and New Zealand Army Corp), the battle was devastating, over one third of New Zealand soldiers dying in a fight that did not have any significant effect on the war.

Anzac Day remembers this sacrifice, but it also marks a moment when New Zealanders took pride in the qualities of the soldiers who fought at Gallipoli – bravery, tenacity, practicality, ingenuity and loyalty – and turned these characteristics into part of our identity, a way of distinguishing ourselves in the world, of knowing who we are and what makes us great as a people and a nation.

Bravery, tenacity, loyalty. These are noble qualities and we rightly remember the men and women who have shown such qualities with honour. But there are another group of men and women who, never going to war, showed the same integrity and courage to stand up for what they believed. *Lest We Forget: Remembering Peacemakers on Anzac Day* marks the honourable actions of those individuals who believe war is wrong, and who have risked physical harm, their freedom and their reputations, to bring their message to others that war is never right.

In a time when war is widely condemned if still too prevalent, it can be hard to imagine what hardships these peacemakers endured. Harry Urquhart publicly wrote in opposition to the First World War, and as a result he lost his job as a teacher. When he wrote a pamphlet challenging compulsory conscription, he was sent to jail for eleven months for sedition, and then jailed again for refusing to be conscripted. He lost his right to vote for ten years, and was banned from teaching.

Archibald Baxter, a pacifist and Christian socialist, refused to take part in the First World War. He was first sent to a detention camp and then forcibly shipped to the front in Europe, where they were humiliated and punished, denied food and placed in mortal danger. All this because he refused to fight in a war he did not believe in.

In 1949 Archibald Barrington and 20 members of the Riverside community protested the government's plan to reintroduce compulsory military training. Barrington was attacked by a group of returned soldiers who tried to flush his head down a toilet. Barrington, the victim of the violent attack, was then charged and convicted of disturbing the peace. The returned soldiers were not punished at all.

There are many such stories, some of which are told in this booklet. We invite you to remember, on the 25 April, men and women who have made the decision to sacrifice and risk so that we might live in a more peaceful, just and hopeful world.

For more information visit: www.lestweforget.org.nz

Acknowledgements

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The sources for the profiles of peacemakers are the books and websites listed in the reference section at the end of each profile.

How To Use This Booklet

This booklet has been put together as a guide for a ceremony of remembrance. We suggest you gather with your family, friends and community and use the information contained in these pages to create your own ritual that will remember these men and women who have struggled in the cause of peace.

Each peacemaker is covered by a short text which covers aspects of their lives, or presents a quote in which they explain why they stood for peace and against war. We suggest that you or your group select a few peacemakers to remember this Anzac Day, reading out loud their story and reflecting on what they have done and said. A series of quotes about peace can be used to open and close the time of remembering, and we have supplied a list of activities that can be tailored to the needs of your group.

Programme Suggestion

The resources in this book are designed to be used together and could be used in a group as follows:

1. Welcome (*Leader*)
2. Purpose of the Event and Programme Overview (*handout readings*)
3. Introductions (*everyone*)
4. Reading/s from *Proclaiming Peace* section (3min)
5. *Remembering Peacemakers* (20min)
 - a. Individuals and/or small groups take one section from Peacemakers to read
 - b. Each person/group summarises to the group in their own words something that stood out for them from the example they looked at
6. *Activities* (20min)
 - a. Individuals and/or small groups do something from the Activity Ideas
 - b. Each person/group (who wants to share) present their work back to the big group
7. Closing Reading/s from *Proclaiming Peace* section and/or prayer/karakia/song (2min)

Proclaiming Peace

Better than a thousand hollow words is one word that brings peace.

Buddha (560-483 B.C.)

Peace is the only battle worth waging.

Albert Camus (1913-1960)

There was never a good war or a bad peace.

Ben Franklin (1706-1790)

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Isaiah 11:4

But peace does not rest in the charters and covenants alone. It lies in the hearts and minds of all people. So let us not rest all our hopes on parchment and on paper, let us strive to build peace, a desire for peace, a willingness to work for peace in the hearts and minds of all of our people. I believe that we can. I believe the problems of human destiny are not beyond the reach of human beings.

John F. Kennedy (1917-1963)

We will not build a peaceful world by following a negative path. It is not enough to say we must not wage war. It is necessary to love peace and sacrifice for it. We must concentrate not merely on the negative expulsion of war but on the positive affirmation of peace. We must see that peace represents a sweeter music, a cosmic melody, that is far superior to the discords of war. Somehow, we must transform the dynamics of the world power struggle from the negative nuclear arms race, which no one can win, to a positive contest to harness humanity's creative genius for the purpose of making peace and prosperity a reality for all the nations of the world. In short, we must shift the arms race into a peace race. If we have a will - and determination - to mount such a peace offensive, we will unlock hitherto tightly sealed doors of hope and transform our imminent cosmic elegy into a psalm of creative fulfillment.

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968)



Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God.

Matthew, 5:9

No good thing has ever been wrought by force... There is no reason why force should continue to have power over us.

Te Whiti o Rongomai (1880s)

Peace may sound simple - one beautiful word - but it requires everything we have, every quality, every strength, every dream, every high ideal.

Yehudi Menuhin (1916-1999)

It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962)



You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom.

Malcolm X (1925-1965)

Peace is not the product of terror or fear.

Peace is not the silence of cemeteries.

Peace is not the silent revolt of violent repression.

Peace is the generous, tranquil contribution of all to the good of all.

Peace is dynamism. Peace is generosity.

It is right and it is duty.

Bishop Oscar Romero (1917-1980)

Peacemakers

TE WHITI O RONGOMAI

In 1863 the New Zealand Settlements Act authorised the settler government to confiscate any land where Maori were considered to be in rebellion – the government then took 3 million acres, mostly in Taranaki and Waikato. Settler surveyors started carving up Waimate plains for settlers from Canterbury and Manawatu.

In 1879 Te Whiti o Rongomai started non-violent resistance to government surveying. During that period of non-violent unrest, hundreds of Maori were arrested and kept in prison without trial. Parihaka became a stronghold of Maori opposition to the loss of tribal lands.

Te Whiti said, *'Though some, in darkness of heart, seeing their land ravished, might wish to take arms and kill the aggressors, I say it must not be. Let not the Pakehas think to succeed by reason of their guns. . . . I want not war, but they do. The flashes of their guns have singed our eyelashes, and yet they say they do not want war. . . . The government come not hither to reason, but go to out-of-the-way places. They work secretly, but I speak in public so that all may hear'*.



The conflicts between the people of Parihaka and the settler-backed government came to a head in 1881. On 19 October, Native Affairs Minister William Rolleston signed a proclamation to invade Parihaka. On 5 November 1881 the peaceful village was invaded by 1500 volunteers and members of the Armed Constabulary.

The soldiers were welcomed by the 2000 people of Parihaka, children came out skipping, soldiers were offered food and drink and adults allowed themselves to be arrested without protest. The Riot Act was read and an hour later Te Whiti and Tohu were led away to a mock trial.

The leaders of Parihaka along with hundreds of their people were imprisoned in the South Island, many in freezing cold caves where they died from exposure, disease and malnutrition. The destruction of Parihaka began immediately. It took the army two weeks to pull down the houses and two months to destroy the crops.

Women and girls were raped leading to an outbreak of syphilis in the community. People suspected of being from other areas of the country were thrown out. Thousands of cattle, pigs and horses were slaughtered and confiscated.

Fort Rolleston was built on a tall hill in the village; four officers and seventy soldiers garrisoned it. The five-year Military occupation of Parihaka had begun.

Further Reading:

Danny Keenan, 'Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III, Erueti ? - 1907', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain: The story of Parihaka*. Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1986.

ARCHIBALD BAXTER

Archibald Baxter was a hard working farmer, Catholic and pacifist. In 1915, when he was 33, Baxter was arrested, sent to prison, then as one of 14 conscientious objectors, shipped under guard to France where he was forced to the front line against his will. Punished to the limits of his physical and mental endurance, Baxter was stripped of all dignity, beaten, starved and placed directly in the line of fire. Field Punishment No.1, which Baxter and his fellow conscientious objectors received regularly, included 'the crucifixion', in which they were tied to a post, their hands, knees and feet bound and held in this position for up to four hours a day.



In later life Baxter published *We Will Not Cease*, an autobiography which recounted his experiences as a pacifist. He wrote, *Throughout this half century the methods of warfare have steadily become more atrocious. Before the First World War people said to one another: "Warfare belongs to the past. Armies will never meet again with frontal attack in battle. We have too much respect now for human life." But in fact it has happened otherwise.*

A greater barbarism than any the human race had known in the past has risen among the nations. In the First World War multitudes of conscript soldiers were buried alive in the mud of France. Villages were also annihilated. But the greatest number of casualties were among the conscript troops. In the Second World War the wholesale slaughter of civilians, by high explosives, by fire bombing, and finally by atomic weapons, became a matter of course. Reports from the present Vietnam War indicate that eighty per cent, of the casualties are occurring among civilians. War has at last become wholly indiscriminate.

The military machine is turned against that communal life which is the seed-bed of future generations of mankind. The only apparent justification that war ever had was that by destroying some lives it might clumsily preserve others. But now even that apparent justification is being stripped away. We make war chiefly on civilians and respect for human life seems to have become a thing of the past.

To accept this situation would be to accept the devil's philosophy. And in fact men are not accepting it easily. This book contains the record of my own fight to the utmost against the power of the military machine during the First World War. At that time to be pacifist was to be in a distinct minority. But today—as war, which was always atrocious, becomes more obviously atrocious and anti-human—to be pacifist is to be the spokesman even of a confused majority who have begun to see that, whatever the national issues may be, all wars are deeply atrocious and no war can be called just'.

Further Reading:

Archibald Baxter, *We Will Not Cease: The Autobiography of a Conscientious Objector*. Christchurch: The Caxton Press, 1965.

David Grant, 'Baxter, Archibald McColl Learmond 1881 - 1970', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007 URL: www.dnzb.govt.nz

RUA KENANA

Rua Kenana's generation of Tuhoe were the first to have extensive contact with Pakeha, working as labourers for European farmers. This exposure to Pakeha standards of living brought into contrast the deep poverty of Maori, but it also gave the prophet a good understanding of Pakeha skills and ideas, some of which he adopted. He realised that the key was maintaining control of Tuhoe land, and growing Maori wealth so the land could be developed.



Following the example of Moses and the Israelites in the old testament, Kenana established a separatist Maori community at Maungapohatu, in the Urewera, attracting followers from Tuhoe, Ngati Awa and Whakatohea who had been deeply affected by government confiscations of land following the land wars of the 1870s.

When the call came for voluntary admission for the First World War, very few Maori from Tuhoe took up the offer to go and fight for the empire. Part of this was due to hostility to the Pakeha government, but it was also in response to Kenana's pacifism, derived from the bible and sayings of Te Kooti Arikirangi Turuku. Kenana's followers believed that war would not reach Aotearoa, and their pacifism, based on the bible, led them to call themselves maungarongo, people of lasting peace.

Publicly suggesting that any man was free to go to war, but strongly discouraging volunteering, Kenana's resistance came to the attention of Pakeha officials, along with his prophecies that the British would leave Aotearoa, and that Maungapohatu would be visited by the world's leaders, including the Kaiser of Germany. In effect, Rua Kenana's reputation as disloyal was a product of war hysteria, and his resistance to the government's attempts to recruit Tuhoe members of the Maori contingent.

The government, keen to end Kenana's reign, charged him with selling alcohol to Maori, which was illegal, and fined him. A first attempt to arrest him in February 1915 was unsuccessful, so 67 police officers returned in April 1916. While Kenana forbade resistance, due to his pacifist beliefs, shots were fired. Two Maori were killed, and four policemen and an unknown number of Kenana's followers were wounded. Rua received a sentence of one year's hard labour, and the Maungapohatu community was fined over 2000 pounds, effectively destroying the settlement.

Further Reading:

Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*. Auckland: Auckland University Press & Bridget Williams Books, 1990.

Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988.

ORMOND BURTON

Early in 1915 Ormond Burton went to war as part the No1 NZ Field Ambulance. At Gallipoli he stayed aboard the Lutzow to tend the wounded and dying, but was later a stretcher-bearer. In September 1915 he was evacuated to Egypt, and by May 1916 was with the New Zealand Division in Flanders.

In the spring of 1917 a friend was killed and he volunteered to take his place in the infantry. In August 1918 he was wounded for the third time and awarded the French Médaille d'honneur. That year he was sent to Cambridge for officer training and in January 1919 he became a second lieutenant. He wrote books about the First World War, his reputation as a skilled war historian matching his reputation as a fearless soldier.



Burton had a change of heart after the war, when he quickly realised that the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, signed between the allies and Germany, would not usher in a new age of peace. In *A Testament of Peace*, published in 1940, Burton wrote of 'the Great Betrayal': *'We looked now for the new world for which we had paid as a purchase price, the best blood of a generation... The disillusionment was rapid and complete. Victory had not brought a new world, and we saw in a flash of illumination that it never could. War is just waste and destruction, solving no problems that creating new and terrible ones'*.

In 1938, as the world prepared for the Second World War, he and others wrote a pamphlet which argued that, *'Moral issues cannot be decided by preparations for war, which must cause international conflicts with their tragic accompaniments of economic loss, destruction of human life, and moral degradation... We further believe that our country should lay down its arms; declare its willingness to cooperate with all other countries on the basis of friendship and goodwill and a willingness to share our possessions; and that the true work of citizens is the building of character and co-operation, both individually and nationally'*.

The day after the Second World War was declared in September 1939, Burton and two others condemned it before a crowd of 200 outside Parliament. Under emergency regulations only hours old, expressing such views was unlawful and all three were arrested. Burton was visited in gaol by the deputy prime minister, Peter Fraser, who was worried that Burton, a returned soldier and a charismatic speaker, might attract the nucleus of a large and embarrassing anti-war movement. Burton rejected Fraser's plea to desist and resumed speaking in Allen Street. He was arrested and fined three times in the next four months, and after a large meeting in February 1940 at Pigeon Park, was sentenced to a month's hard labour. On his release he went straight back to the speaking podium and was imprisoned for a further three months.

Describing his own situation, Burton wrote in *A Testament of Peace*, that *'In the storm of fire and steel we can perhaps do very little except bear witness from our prison cells to the way of Christ. Many times our hearts will fail us with fear. After all though it is better to suffer on a cross loving the poor blind frenzied world and dying for it than to make new blood soaked battlefields and perish there in hate and fury. Love that is not daunted by suffering has always a resurrection'*.

In 1942 Burton was charged with editing, publishing and attempting to publish a subversive document when he became editor of the Christian Pacific Society newsletter. Burton argued for his democratic right to think and speak as conscience dictated. Justice Archibald Blair disagreed, telling the jury it was a time when the mouths of 'cranks' would have to shut. The jury found Burton guilty, but recommended mercy. Under the emergency regulations the maximum sentence was 12 months' imprisonment, but Blair invoked a rarely used provision in the 1910 Crimes Amendment Act and sentenced Burton to 2½ years. He was offered immediate freedom if he agreed to refrain from writing or speaking on pacifism, but he rejected the offer.

Further Reading:

Ernest Crane, *I Can Do No Other: A Biography of the Reverend Ormond Burton*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986.

David Grant, *A Question of Faith: A History of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society*. Wellington: Philip Garside Publishing, 2004.



A. LOIS WHITE

In the 1930s and 1940s Auckland artist A. Lois White painted a series of political and social commentaries which were inspired by her left-wing, anti-war sentiments. These images range from the pointed and hostile criticism of the commerce of war in *War Makers* (1937) to the light-hearted celebration of war's end in *Jubilation* (1948).



White had studied at Elam School of Art under A.J.C. Fisher, head of school and a man with politically left ideals. When White became one of the teachers at Elam she joined an institution steeped in contemporary politics and staffed by lecturers who were actively involved with worker riots during the Depression, and with the rights of workers. Indeed, the Workers Educational Association (W.E.A.) had offices in the same building as Elam. A university for the working classes, the W.E.A. taught literature and history with a bias to the left. All of this had a significant effect of White, who used her art as a way to speak about the issues of the period.

Of *War Makers*, first exhibited in 1937, White wrote, '*The main idea behind the composition in question is the injustice done to youth, by the decision of those older generation to have wars and send their sons to be slaughtered and maimed, while many grow fat on the proceeds. Financiers, money-grubbers, politicians, the thoughtless type of patriotism, are contributing factors which I have tried to suggest, with helpless youth being torn from equally helpless youth and home.*'

It was a controversial painting, and not always understood by contemporary audiences. In part White's point of view was shaped by her membership in the Methodist Church, which was vigorously debating the question of Pacifism in the 1930s. It has also been suggested that White's painting, with its staged figures like puppets against a schematic back-drop, owes something to the People's Theatre, a politically active group who performed agitprop productions filled with sketches, cabaret and revues commenting on politics and society.

As the war began in Europe, White continued to paint confronting images designed to challenge people's conceptions. *Civilised*, shown in 1942, represented the effects of bombing in Europe – people dead and dying, their homes burning, their lives destroyed. *Collapsed*, painted in 1944, returns to the subject of *War Makers*, the wealthy industrialist with the support of a uniformed officer presiding over the suffering population. White's civilian viewpoint was a strong alternative to the official paintings of the war, which were careful to minimise the realities of death in favour of a vision of life in the services that romanticised the choices of the men who had gone overseas to fight.

Further Reading:

Nicola Green, *By the Waters of Babylon: The Art of A. Lois White*. Auckland: Auckland City Art Gallery, 1993.

Nicola Green, 'White, Anna Lois 1903 - 1984', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 22 June 2007 URL: www.dnzb.govt.nz

Auckland City Art Gallery Online Collection:

<http://collection.aucklandartgallery.govt.nz/collection/results.do?view=detail&db=object&id=3663>

ALAN GRAHAM

During the Second World War close to 800 men were considered to be defaulting conscientious objectors, and punished by being sent to detention camps for the duration of the war. Intended to be a cross between a prison and a work camp, the detention camps were established around the country, the inmates clearing scrub and weeds from the surrounding countryside, or digging drains, making tracks or planting shelter belts.

Alan Graham provides an excellent description of life in the detention camps in his book *A Matter of Conscience: A Pacifist Through Six Wars*. It is a story of petty punishments and major attacks on the rights of men who stood up for what they believed.

He writes that 'At an early hour each week day, the detainees were put to work – hardly productive – mostly outside the barbed-wire fences cutting scrub ostensibly to make the land suitable for returned servicemen after the war . . . Lunch was taken out by the gangs and breakfast and dinner served in a common mess hall inside the compound. . . . Our evenings were free within the compound until 8pm when the doors of our huts were locked and we were left to our own devices. . . .

For clothing we were issued a nondescript sort of "uniform", which consisted of grey or khaki trousers and shirt, the latter without a collar, presumably to assist in identification in the event of an escape – it was not the kind of shirt that most men of the day who were in circulation would wear. . . .

Visitors were permitted, but for those of us who like me were in a camp far from their homes visits were infrequent. This was a privilege that could not easily for this reason be enjoyed. . . .

The "screws" [guards] had several ways of controlling behaviour in the camps. One of the most effective, at least for some detainees, was the withholding of so-called "privileges". These consisted of such perks as the regular issue of an ounce of tobacco, the freedom to receive visitors and to send and receive mail. . . . We were allowed to write two letters a week – in total that is. If I wrote to my mother, Rita [his wife] had to do without a letter that week. Even then the letters had to be restricted in size – no doubt to relieve the workload of the screws, who had to censor them. We could write two sides of an A4 sheet. . . . If we wrote anything that was unacceptable, the offensive part was either blue-pencilled out or even cut right out of the page, making it quite impossible to read what had been on the other side of the sheet.

When Graham was finally released from the detention camp at the end of the Second World War, he was not yet free. His official status meant that he could be recalled to detention at any time, and he was manpowered to essential industry. His right to vote was taken away, and he had to apply to have it restored.

Further Reading:

Alan Graham, *A Matter of Conscience: A Pacifist Through Six Wars*. Auckland: Private Publication, 1994.

MERV BROWNE & CHRIS PALMER

Merv Browne and Chris Palmer were conscientious objectors who spent time in detention camps for their decision to refuse to serve in the Second World War. In 1944 they escaped and publicised their grievances to the inhumane treatment they were receiving, as well as writing a leaflet which explained their opposition to the war.



We fully appreciate the courage and self-sacrifice of the men and women in the armed forces. The stand we have taken is in no way critical of these people, but it is an emphatic protest against a system which breeds war, a system which demands as the price of its existence that millions of young lives must be destroyed by the beastliness of war, instead of being committed to develop to the full in some peaceful, creative work.

We urge . . . peace now, by negotiation.

Sooner or later the peoples of the world will have to get together and discuss peace terms. Why not now?? Stop and think what every day of the war means in terms of human life, in suffering and tragedy, in the collapse of morality, and prostitution of ideals and principles. Wars are man-made, and can therefore be stopped when men decide to stop them.

We appeal to you to demand an immediate armistice. Only by collaboration between the common peoples of the world, on the basis of the ending of exploitation and the determined effort to build a free co-operative commonwealth of all nations, can we hope to establish permanent peace – the federation of mankind.

Further Reading:

W.J. Foote, *Bread and Water: the Escape and Ordeal of Two New Zealand World War II Conscientious Objectors*. Wellington: Philip Garside, 2000.

David Grant, *A Question of Faith: A History of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society*. Wellington: Philip Garside Publishing, 2004.

THE FAMILIES OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The burden of a male conscientious objector's decision to stand up for his beliefs and refuse to go to war did not fall solely on his shoulders. Wives, children, siblings and parents of conscientious objectors imprisoned for their stand were the targets of hostility and censure.

Some wives and parents were sent white feathers, a symbol of cowardice, in the mail. Some families lost friends, or were rejected by institutions such as churches or sports groups. One child of an imprisoned conscientious objector was denied the top academic prize by his school because of his father's refusal to go to war.

Families struggled practically with the burden of the breadwinner being unable to work, making conscientious objection a costly choice beyond the obvious loss of freedom. Wives, often with little children, relied on the kindness of friends and colleagues to get through the long periods of husbands and fathers being held in detention camps.

There was also the pressure that absence placed on relationships. Letters were censored, and phone calls were impossible. Because of the restrictions of the war, travel was extremely difficult. Few people had cars, and for those who did, petrol was rationed. Individuals could not travel more than 60 miles by train. To add to this burden, detention camps were often situated far away from major population centres, in places like the central North Island, and prisoners were moved around with no regard for where their families and relatives lived.

Face to face visits were infrequent, and involved epic struggle. When Nancy Bay from Motueka went to see her fiancé Jack Willetts in Hautu Camp near Turangi, she would catch the steamer to Wellington, cycle to Wanganui, train to National Park, and then bike to the camp. Cycling was a common method of transportation, women banding together to make the long journeys from Wellington or Auckland.

Further Reading:

David Grant, *Out in the Cold: Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors in New Zealand during World War II*. Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1988.

David Grant, *A Question of Faith: A History of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society*. Wellington: Philip Garside Publishing, 2004.



*Lucy Gibson with her son John
on his release from detention camp.*

JOHN MILLER

Photographer John Miller has spent his life documenting protests with his camera. Part of a rich tradition of documentary photography which, in the twentieth century, has captured some momentous events and moments in the struggle for peace, Miller has been an observer of anti-war protest since he began taking photographs, as a secondary school student, of demonstrations against the Vietnam War in 1967.



Ky Demo. Lower Albert St Ak. Wed, 25th Jan 1967

Attending Victoria University in 1969-70, and working as a CRACCUM student newspaper photographer in 1971-72, Miller became focused on the various protest movements that were taking place at the time. Not exclusively concerned with peace or anti-war protest, Miller and his camera were at the scene of civil rights events and the generation of Māori who began standing against racism and injustice in Aotearoa. Photographs of anti-Vietnam War demonstrations sit alongside images of protests against sporting tours of South Africa, and the activities of Nga Tamatoa or the famous Land March of 1975. Miller's documentary work reveals the connections between peace and equality, that peace will not come without freedom for all members of society.

Miller writes, *'Considering the various manifestations of civilian dissent in regard to particular government policies (whether New Zealand, South African or American) that I have photographed, I seem to have been performing the role of a sympathetic observer, insofar as I tend to support the causes that motivate such protests, rallies or meetings'*.

His photographs are witness to the many individuals who have stood up for peace and freedom, and they carry this message to the wider society, challenging the status quo and the structures of power that perpetuate the conditions in which war is a legitimate activity. As Miller notes, *'All in all, civil dissent against the military (and, more recently, the economic) policies of the United States is the enduring constant of much of what I have photographed over the years. If anything has changed, it is the realisation that many of the seemingly disparate issues protested against are actually interlocked. For instance, that the US is using its US\$390 billion per annum military machine to back up its economic global reach through the World Trade Organisation and various bilateral and multilateral trade and investment treaties; to sequester the world's oil supply; to seize control of, and genetically manipulate, global food production; and to ignore the harsh reality that the planet's survival really does depend on the U.S. drastically curbing its hugely disproportionate consumption of the world's resources'*.

In 2003 Miller received a Media Peace Prize Lifetime Award in recognition of his photography, and its role in helping to promote the cause of peace.

Further Reading:

'John Miller: Media Peace Award Recipient 2003', *Photoforum* 69, December 2003. URL www.photoforum-nz.org/index.php?pageID=27

Aroha Harris, *Hikoi: Forty Years of Maori Protest*. Wellington: Huia Publishing, 2007.

MOANA COLE

Early in the morning on 1 January 1991 Moana Cole, from New Zealand, Ciaron O'Reilly, from Australia, and Susan Frankel and Bill Streit, from Washington, D.C., calling themselves the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and U.S.) Peace Force Plowshares, entered the Griffiss Air Force Base in New York, USA.

After cutting through several fences, Bill and Sue entered a deadly force area (where soldiers are authorised to shoot to kill), they hammered and poured blood on a KC-135 (a refueling plane for B-52's) and then proceeded to hammer and pour blood on the engine of a nearby cruise missile armed B-52 bomber that could be used in the Middle East. They presented their action statement and an indictment to base security who encircled them moments later.



Simultaneously, Moana and Ciaron entered the base at the opposite end of the runway, and made a sign of the cross with blood on the runway, spray-painting "*Love Your Enemies - Jesus Christ*", "*No More Bombing of Children in Hiroshima, Vietnam, Iraq, or Anywhere!*" and "*Isaiah Strikes Again*". For approximately one hour they hammered upon the runway chipping at two sections, one being nearly five feet in diameter, before they were detained.

A written statement the group, who were all members of the Catholic Worker movement, carried with them declared that they came together from three different countries to reclaim the acronym from the ANZUS Treaty and create a "new pact for peace, which is the way of the Lord." They also asserted they were acting to prevent war in the Persian Gulf and called upon people to nonviolently resist war and oppression. In their indictment they cited the U.S. government for war crimes and violations of international law.

All four were indicted on 9 January 1991 on federal charges of conspiracy and property destruction and faced a maximum sentence of 15 years in prison. After being held in jail for two months, they accepted pre-trial release on March 6th. They went to trial in Federal Court in Syracuse in May and were convicted by a jury. On August 20th, they were sentenced to twelve months in prison and ordered to pay \$1800 in restitution. After serving 10 months Bill and Sue were released from prison in mid-June 1992. Moana and Ciaron were released in late June on bail pending a deportation hearing.

In October 1992, Moana returned to New Zealand following her court-ordered voluntary deportation. Moana currently lives in Christchurch and has been completing a Masters Degree in Law focusing on the legality of the US-led occupation of Afghanistan.

Further reading:

O'Reilly, C. *Bomber Grounded, Runway Closed: The Prison Diary of a War Resister*. Rosehill Books, 1995

www.greenleft.org.au/1995/184/12168

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Worker_Movement

ROD DONALD

Environmentalist, politician and peace activist, Rod Donald was a respected member of Parliament and co-leader of the Green Party until his sudden death in 2005. Dedicated to offering an alternative politics which did not rely on war or oppression to control and order international relations, Donald spoke often about the importance of peace, and the need for every member of society to work towards achieving it. As he said in his speech to Parliament marking the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, *'It is not enough to acknowledge the futility and obscenity of war. For the sake of all those who died and all those families and friends who lost their loved ones we must all strive to overcome the causes of conflict and build a peaceful world'*.



As well as making speeches, Donald was an active protestor, taking part in the Anti Bases Campaign from 1997, attempting to close the Waihopai spy base near Blenheim so that Aotearoa New Zealand was not supporting United States wars through intelligence gathering.

At the Riverside Peace Festival in 2005, Donald said, *'I would like to acknowledge those who founded Riverside as a Christian Pacifist Community in 1941 and those early members of the community who were put in detention camps during the Second World War because they were conscientious objectors.'*

They had amazing foresight, tremendous determination and, most of all, the courage of their convictions. What we enjoy here today is because of their hard fought struggle - not just the physical deprivations and exhausting work of the early years but also the social ostracisation they suffered.

Our generation owes the conscientious objectors to both world wars a particular debt of gratitude. Without their sacrifice it would not so easy for us to campaign for peace today.

For Donald, his message of environmental responsibility was directly tied to his struggle for peace. In his Riverside Peace Festival speech Donald said that *'Right now between 1.1 and 1.4 billion people on this planet do not have access to safe drinking water, including 36% of the population of Africa. Polluted water contributes to the death of 15 million children under 5 each year. In addition to the disease burden, women and children in developing countries are particularly affected by the lack of access to safe water as the task of carting water, often over long distances in rural areas, usually falls to them.'*

It is estimated that it would cost US\$26 billion a year for the next 11 years to provide safe water to those 1.4 billion people.

How can we afford to do that? It comes down to priorities. The world wasted US\$879 billion on military spending in 2003 - the USA spent US\$417 billion (3.4% of GDP) alone. NZ spent 0.6 billion or 1.1% of GDP. Pacifism is the antidote to this insanity'.

Further Reading:

Rod Donald, 'The future is in our hands: Threats, opportunities and actions', a speech delivered at Riverside Peace Festival, 6 March 2005. URL: www.greens.org.nz/searchdocs/speech8376.html

MALCOLM KENDALL-SMITH

Dual British/NZ citizen Flight Lieutenant Dr Malcolm Kendall-Smith in 2006 was found guilty on five counts of disobeying orders and was sentenced to eight months in prison and ordered to pay \$20,000 in costs for refusing to serve in Iraq.

The doctor who was subsequently dismissed from the RAF, had already served two tours of duty in Iraq but refused to return in June 2005 on the basis that the invasion was illegal and that he therefore did not have to obey orders to serve there. In court, Kendall-Smith began his statement by defining aggression as ‘the use of armed forces by a state against a sovereign state’s integrity’. He said that as a commissioned officer he was required ‘to consider each and every order’ and to consider their legality under domestic and international law. ‘I believe that the current occupation of Iraq is an illegal act and for me to comply with an act which is illegal would put me in conflict with both domestic and international law’.



In a statement outside the court at Aldershot in Hampshire, Kendall Smith's defence lawyer said his client felt his actions were ‘totally justified. He would do the same thing again [and] will appeal against the conviction and the sentence.’

Further Reading:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malcolm_Kendall-Smith

www.stopwar.org.uk/StoptheWar-Kendall-Smith.htm

Activity Ideas

Some of the following activities for children can be a good way to help them reflect on the issues in a more personal way:

Peace Posters: design and make posters promoting peace and put them up at schools, shops and other public places.



Te Whanau Rangimarie (The Peaceful Family) by **Miria Koia** [5yrs]

Peace Poems: write poems about peace and print them as a booklet or posters.

*Peace and love
are like a flying dove;
No time for war
you just have to soar;
A tui flies
through the skies;
Open free
unlike you and me;
War, revolution
is not the solution.*

by **Hugo Robinson** [9yrs]

Create t-shirt slogans, pictures and designs:

For example:

'Drop aid, not bombs'

'We shall remember, we shall not cease'

'War does not breed peace, guns do not breed security'

Sing and/or listen to songs about Peace:

For example:

www.protest-records.com

www.lacarte.org/songs/anti-war

References & Resources

Books & DVDs:

Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988.

Paul Baker discusses the issues around compulsory conscription during the First World War, and outlines the pacifist and anti-militarist response. Chapter Seven of his book examines the way in which conscientious objectors such as Archibald Baxter were treated by the government, as well as discussing Maori resistance to fighting in the war.

David Grant, *Out in the Cold: Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors in New Zealand during World War II*. Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986.

In this highly readable book David Grant discusses the pacifists and conscientious objectors who refused to be part of the Second World War. He traces the origins of anti-war beliefs during the First World War and then provides a social history of the men and women who refused the call to fight, relying extensively on oral history interviews with many of the people covered in the book.

Tau Te Mauri – Breath of Peace DVD, 2005

Eight individuals who have struggled and sacrificed for the cause of peace tell their stories in this 72 minute long film. From conscientious objectors imprisoned during the Second World War to Greenpeace activists resisting nuclear testing in the Pacific, *Tau Te Mauri* reveals how some amazing New Zealanders have put themselves on the line for global peace.

Websites:

International Conscientious Objectors' Day – 15 May

<http://wri-irg.org/co/icodhist.htm>

15 May was first celebrated as a day of action in 1982. The day focuses on the struggle for the right to conscientious objection. Usually one particular struggle is highlighted each year, while at the same time remembering those who served this cause in the past.

Prisoners for Peace Day – 1 December

<http://wri-irg.org/co/pfphist.htm>

Prisoners for Peace Day was introduced in the 1950s. The day is a way to support those imprisoned for their stand against war and war preparations, by sending greeting cards to prisoners, and raising public awareness of prisoners for peace.

War Resisters International

<http://wri-irg.org>

War Resisters International (WRI) is an organization dedicated to promoting and supporting conscientious objectors and their struggle to resist taking part in war. Leading campaigns to raise awareness of individuals around the globe who are being punished for refusing to fight, WRI also runs days of remembrance for conscientious objectors throughout the twentieth century.

Peace Movement Aotearoa

www.converge.org.nz/pma

Peace Movement Aotearoa (PMA) is a network of individuals and organizations in Aotearoa New Zealand dedicated to peace, justice and human rights. Linking people together, profiling causes and campaigns, and sharing resources, PMA is an excellent source of information and a great way to get involved in local movements for peace.

Peace Foundation

www.peace.net.nz

The Peace Foundation is a not-for-profit organisation actively involved in creating a more peaceful society. The Foundation promotes peaceful relationships among people of all ages, at all levels, through education, research and action.

The Internet Peace Gateway

The online directory of groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand who are working for peace.

www.peace.org.nz