

The **ANGLICAN PACIFIST** of **Aotearoa/New Zealand**

Newsletter of the New Zealand Branch of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

CHAIRMAN'S LETTER

SHEPHERDS AND ANGELS.

In the account of the birth of Jesus nothing is quite as we would expect. For those involved, even if there were precedents or prophecies, the actual happenings were uniquely, and often uncomfortably, out of the ordinary. So a baby in a feeding trough was rare enough for the shepherds to distinguish the Messiah baby from all the other ones in Bethlehem that night. Even rough shepherds did better for their wives. (if only Herod had shown such precision – but tyrants don't bother about collateral damage.)

Inviting shepherds to be the first to hear of the birth and the first to visit the baby was not an obvious choice. They lived a semi nomadic life, rarely went to church, did not observe the purity rules and their sheep were prone to wander onto other peoples' land. They were not respectable citizens, so if not actual ruffians, they were certainly outsiders. It was a strange choice, but they set

a precedent as later it was to be a woman who first met the risen Christ.

It must have brought enormous comfort and a new confidence to the exhausted couple when the shepherds told them of their hillside experience.

After Mary's conception, this appearance of Angels is perhaps the most unusual and inspiring part of Luke's whole story, for not only did an Angel speak clearly to a group of working men out in the country, but the heavens opened, and they saw and heard the Angelic Host worshipping and singing, 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace'. Paula Gooder writes, 'the appearance of the host in worship to people on earth, as here at Jesus' birth, is unique'. (Journey to the Manger).

We do not know the melody and harmonies of the angelic song but the words must have been in Aramaic. The words themselves would be unexpected, for the Host means an army, and armies are designed to fight. The Host was rarely experienced, but it was seen by Elisha and his servant as horses and chariots (2 Kings 6.14–17).

For Jesus the Host is disarmed and sings a song of peace and goodwill, for heaven's life is now revealed on earth in a newborn baby.



By introducing us to the Emperor Augustus, Luke invites us to compare that Lord's peace, imposed by the sword, with the baby Lord's peace, offered through love. Sadly our modern 'emperors' remain as deaf to the Angel song as most of their predecessors, but

fortunately there are still 'shepherds' open to the unexpected and unconventional, who hear the song, visit the Manger, and return home 'Glorifying and praising God for all they that they had heard and seen' Luke 2.20.

Shalom
Jonathan.

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO

The Centre has reached its 10th anniversary this year, and as part of the celebration a three-day peace conference was held. The Dorothy Brown Lecture was also held in Dunedin, following the conference.

The 10th Anniversary Conference

Peace in Aotearoa New Zealand: Past, Present, Future

**Monday 25–Wednesday 27 November 2019,
University of Otago, Dunedin.**

The conference organisers had a great line-up of keynote speakers – see below and opposite – and each keynote address was followed by one, two or three lectures or panel discussions running concurrently. Some of the topics covered in the lectures and panel discussions were:

Alternative Approaches to Countering Far-Right Extremism in Aotearoa/New Zealand;
Climate Change Conflict and the Pacific Islands;
Democracy, Sustainable Culture and Community;
Disarmament Education in Action;
Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions collaboratively;
Food Security and Peacebuilding in New Zealand;
Gender Justice and Peace Gaps in the Boko Haram;
Global Citizenship, Positive Reality and 'Almost Impossible Thoughts'
How to stop another Operation Burnham happening in the future;
Human Rights and the Treaty Monitoring Bodies;
Hybrid Peacebuilding and Security Sector Reform;
Ideological Reconstruction of Youth Extremism and Globalization of Violence: Africa Experience;
Investigating the Relationship Between Violence and Multiple Deprivation in Young People;
Is Fiji Ready for Peace Education?;

Is Gandhi Relevant Today?;
Militarism and the Campaign to Stop Killer Robots;
Militarism, Peace and Planet;
'No Spy Waihopai': How does Praxis Inform the Theories of Pragmatic Nonviolence?
Parihaka: Peace, and the Great Wars;
Peace Organisations in Aotearoa-New Zealand;
Peacebuilding Through Volunteering;
Reaching Over and Across: Dialogue for Transitional Justice Discourse;
The Everyday Peace Initiative: Putting research into practice;
The Peace Foundation: Offering Peer Mediation in Aotearoa New Zealand Schools;
Understanding Nonviolent Actions for Victims of State-led Violence;
Victims of State-led Violence;
Voice to Voice - A Youth Resiliency Programme;

The speakers were drawn from the ranks of students, graduates and lecturers of the Centre, and peace-savvy people from all over the world, including a former President of French Polynesia. The content of the lectures will be available on the website, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCLa17YftDyUQuJI4v8WidLQ> from February 2020.

APF members Chris and Pat Barfoot and our Secretary, the Ven. Indrea Alexander, felt privileged

Keynote Speakers

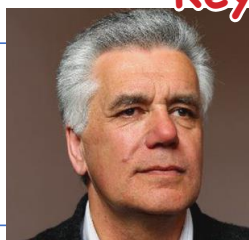
Moana Jackson

"Can there be peace without decolonisation?"

Date: Monday, 25th November

Time: 9:30am-10:30am

Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago



Professor Kevin Clements

"The Peace Research Process: can there be healing and justice in a broken and unequal world"

Date: Monday, 25th November

Time: 1:00pm-2:00pm

Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago





Moana Maniapoto
Renowned musician and film-maker
Date: Monday, 25th November
Time: 4:30pm-5:30pm
Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago



Oscar Temaru
Former President of French Polynesia
Date: Tuesday, 26th November
Time: 9:30am-10:30am
Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago

Professor Stellan Vinthagen
"How to survive as an activist-scholar within the liberal hegemony of academia: And make a difference"
Date: Tuesday, 26th November
Time: 1:00pm-2:00pm
Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago



Golriz Ghahraman
Member of Parliament, New Zealand's Green Party
Date: Tuesday, 26th November
Time: 4:30pm-5:15pm
Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago



Professor Eileen Babbitt and Professor Tamra Pearson d'Estrée
"Reflections on putting peace scholarship into practice"
Date: Wednesday, 27th November
Time: 9:30am-10:30am
Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago

Aotearoa-New Zealand Peace and Conflict Studies Trust
Date: Wednesday, 27th November
Time: 1:00pm-2:00pm
Place: Castle 1 Lecture Theatre,
University of Otago



The Dorothy Brown Memorial Lecture 2019

"WHAT IS PEACE?"

**Professor Richard Jackson,
Director, The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies**

It is a tremendous honour for me to deliver this Dorothy Brown Peace Lecture, especially as we are celebrating ten years since the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies opened here at the University of Otago. I never met Dorothy face-to-face, but I did speak to her on the phone when I visited the Centre in 2011. Even in that limited interaction, I was in no doubt that she was a real advocate for peace, and a genuine force of nature. There's little question in my mind that I would not be standing here today, and the Centre which I currently direct would not exist without her and the years of tireless work she put in to establishing peace studies in this country. It is completely appropriate that we honour her memory each year with a peace lecture like this.

In my talk tonight I want to go back to a very obvious, but often overlooked question: what is "peace"? The term "peace" is ubiquitous in our political life, our media, our daily conversation and in academia. New Zealand takes pride that it ranks either first or second in the Global Peace Index, an annual measure of the peacefulness of every country. There are debates about the role of the New Zealand Defence Force in peacekeeping, and currently, about whether arming the police will help to keep the peace in communities experiencing

high levels of violent crime. I am the Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies where students come to study for a degree in peace and conflict studies. I call myself a professor of peace studies.

But what exactly is the "peace" that we refer to when we discuss peace in these different ways? Do we think deeply about what kind of "peace" we are talking about? What are the characteristics of this "peace"? How do we know it when we see it? What values, norms and priorities are included in the idea

of “peace”? And importantly, whose “peace” is it? Who gets the most benefit from the particular kind of “peace” we are advocating for? Finally, what kind of “peace” should we be aiming and working for? What does the peaceful society we envisage and aspire to look like? What are its characteristics?

I want to suggest that for the most part, we (and by “we” I mean the powerful actors in society who get to speak in the public space, such as politicians and the media, as well as those of us in academia) don’t often ask these questions. Mostly, we simply assume that when we use the term “peace” everyone knows what it means and agrees with the way it is being used. I would further suggest, perhaps provocatively, that the reason why we don’t interrogate the notion of “peace” is that it currently works well for the dominant structures and interests of society. It functions as a way to maintain and stabilise the current status quo, rather than disrupt or challenge it. I would also suggest that those of us in peace studies benefit from a particular understanding of “peace” because we are not seen as rebels, malcontents or revolutionaries, but as part of the ruling structure; we are fairly well aligned with those in power who seek to maintain a smooth-functioning society.

With this context in mind, in this talk, I want to try and answer three main questions:

1. What conceptions of peace do we hold (or what conceptions are held by the dominant institutions in our society, including academia and the field of peace studies), and what’s wrong with these conceptions?
2. What kind of “peace” should we be working towards?
3. What can we do practically to realise a new normative form of “peace”?

My first question: What conceptions of peace do we hold, and what’s wrong with these conceptions?

I don’t have the time here to give you a detailed overview and explanation of the many terms related to “peace” which are used

in the academic literature. Peace scholars use terms such as “negative and positive peace”, “democratic peace”, “liberal peace”, “capitalist peace”, “hybrid peace”, “everyday peace”, “post-liberal peace”, “quality peace” and many more. I have examined these in another paper which I presented at the conference. The point is that each of these conceptions,

like all big concepts, are based on a series of implicit assumptions and values and each one tries to draw out what the author sees as the most important aspect of what “peace” is or ought to be. I also cannot provide you with a detailed analysis of the way in which the term “peace” is used more broadly in the media, by politicians, by the UN and NGOs, and so on.

What I can do, however, is summarise my analysis of this language of “peace” and what I see as the main problems with it. So, for example, in academic conceptions of the “liberal peace”, the “capitalistic peace”, the “democratic peace” and “quality peace”, and in most widely used notions of “peace” across society is an implicit assumption or understanding that the modern state and neoliberal capitalism (although it is sometimes referred to as “economic development”) are essential to “peace”. The belief is that “peace” requires the organisation, regulation, direction and security of state institutions, as well as the wealth generation of neoliberal capitalism, and that without this, there would be only chaos, violent social conflict and poverty, which would be the opposite of “peace”. In other words, dominant conceptions of “peace” are most often state-centric and pro-capitalist; they simply assume without question that we need powerful, centralised state institutions and a wealth-generating system in order to create a peaceful society.

Of course, the problem with a state-centric and liberal capitalist peace is that the state and capitalism have caused immeasurable harm and violence to people and to the planet and its eco-systems, and are in fact, inherently very violent institutions. By one study, states have killed over 200 million people in the



last one hundred years outside of war and conflict. This is additional to the wars caused by modern states which have killed more than 100 million more in the same period. Other studies calculate that capitalism causes 100,000 deaths every single day from poverty, hunger, inadequate medical care, dangerous working conditions, and the like. You only have to think of the hundreds of women who died in the Bangladesh garment factory fire a few years ago, or the millions of Africans who died from AIDs because Western pharmaceutical companies refused to allow African governments to use cheaper generic drugs to recognise how capitalism kills people. While a small fraction of the world's population benefits immensely from the lifestyle and consumer products produced by capitalism, millions more are harmed and killed daily by this particular form of economic organisation. For them, the "capitalist peace" is not very peaceful at all.

A related assumption which can be seen in most academic and popular understandings of the term is that "peace" is built upon or requires the presence of military force or the use of force such as the police more generally. It is assumed that without a military or a police force, there would be no law and order and no security from foreign threats. In other words, "peace" in this conception is built upon the foundation of security. It's interesting that this assumption is itself based on a Hobbesian conception of human nature and society – the culturally dominant idea (which is expressed in almost every Hollywood movie or television series) that in the absence of the coercive institutions of law and order, people's natural instinct is to fight and kill each other in a war of everyone against everyone. That is, it is based on the assumption that human beings are inherently violent and aggressive and that these instincts can only be constrained by a more powerful state leviathan who can punish and deter instinctual human aggression. As a consequence, virtually all academic and

popular conceptions of "peace" see a positive role for the military and the use of force, and assume that peacekeeping, humanitarian intervention, the professionalisation of the armed forces, robust policing and so on are essential to creating and maintaining "peace".

Once again, when we analyse the deaths and harms caused by the military and police, whether it is the documented sexual violence associated with the presence of military bases, the PTSD and suicides of military personnel, the shooting of African-Americans by police in the US, or indeed the diversion of resources from health and education towards weapons production, it is deeply problematic to argue that "peace" is what we have when we have armed police and a strong military. A deeper problem

is that when you create institutions like the police and the military, you need a supporting culture and supporting institutions like arms factories, military suppliers, memorials for the war dead and so on. This actually creates a culture of violence which actually makes future wars and future violence more likely because it normalises war and makes military force acceptable.

This unquestioned assumption or belief in a "militarised peace" is itself related to another characteristic of the dominant ways we conceive "peace", namely, its inbuilt assumptions about the nature of violence – which is seen to be the opposite of "peace". In most academic and public conceptions, "peace" is seen to be primarily about the absence of direct physical violence: if people are not being killed every day in large-scale political violence, then we have a situation of "peace". In academia, we have called this "negative peace", and it refers to the absence of organised political violence. Scholars contrast this theoretically with the idea of "positive peace" which goes beyond the absence of violence to also include positive values of social justice, well-being and human flourishing. While many scholars claim that



they believe that we should be using the term “peace” in this more positive sense, as a number of studies have shown, the reality is that most scholars, as well as most public uses of the term, continue to base their work on the assumption that “peace” is characterised primarily by the absence of physical violence.

Of course, the problem with this is that it misses other forms of violence. In particular, it misses what we call structural violence, which is the harm and violation done to people by the structures and processes of society and the way goods and services are distributed – such as the millions who die prematurely from lack of adequate health care, nutrition or housing, all of which are plentiful but poorly distributed because of the dominant system. It refers to the harm caused by the shorter life spans of people of colour and indigenous communities, the preventable deaths caused by poverty and deprivation, the harm caused by the impact of climate events on communities which are less able to adapt because of lack of resourcing, the impact of persistent child poverty, and so on. The fact is that a great many more people are killed and harmed each year from structural violence than are killed or harmed by war and direct political violence – but this understanding is not really reflected in our dominant notion of “peace”.

Related to this, the focus on direct violence also blinds us to what has been called cultural violence, as well as epistemic violence – which includes the harms that come from discrimination, racism, lack of opportunity, disparate cultural expectations, and the exclusion of alternative world-views and cultures. In some cases, such as practices of so-called “honour killings” or “machismo violence”, it results in deaths and injuries to many thousands; in other cases, it results in the psychological and spiritual harms of dislocation, depression, homelessness, addiction, suicide and incarceration. In short, the focus on direct physical violence as the main measure of “peace” blinds us to the violence of racism, sexism, ableism, ageism, and a multitude of other forms of contemporary discrimination.

In any event, this reinforces the point that just because there is an absence of direct political violence, this doesn’t mean that “peace” properly exists, especially if people are dying or being harmed daily from poverty, deprivation, discrimination, racism, domestic violence, suicide and so on.

Another observation is that the dominant conceptions of peace are most often rooted in a kind of binary logic which divides the world and society into zones of “peace” versus “war”, “stability” versus “conflict”, “victims” versus “perpetrators”, “good guys” versus “bad guys”, and so on. In particular, there is a kind of imaginative geography which divides the whole world into neatly divided “zones of peace and stability” and “zones of violence and disorder”. So for example, travel advisories and news framing will describe Africa, along with the Middle East, as being zones of violence, poverty and disorder – in contrast to Europe which is a zone of stability, order, and peace. This geographical binary imaginary guides the thinking of Western nations and international organisations as they consider forms of humanitarian intervention and peacekeeping which will go to these lawless, violent places and help them to become more stable and peaceful like they are. It is the assumption that a more peaceful world requires the peaceful West to go out to the rest of the world to help them move towards the peaceful zone.

Of course, again, this is deeply problematic if we consider that first, Western societies are deeply violent themselves, especially in structural and cultural terms; and second, that the West is one of the major sources of violence in other parts of the world through arms transfers, military intervention, unfair trading practices, resource exploitation, and so on. Powerful Western nations have created the current international order to suit their own interests, and the violence and instability of this international order is directly related to the continuing economic, military and political practices they continue to engage in .

Lastly, I want to suggest that if we look closely at both academic and popular conceptions

of peace, we can see quite clearly that they implicitly and explicitly contain and uphold a core set of values. These inherent values include: order and stability, security (in terms of traditional notions of national security and law and order), the free market and economic growth, efficiency and instrumentalism, consensus and conformity, individualism and Western-style representative democracy. Importantly, a characteristic of dominant conceptions of “peace” is that these values are universal and applicable to every society everywhere. Obviously, I don’t need to labour the point that these values are deeply ideological, culturally restrictive and would not accord with the values of non-Western societies, indigenous communities or other political philosophies rooted in alternative principles such as anarchism, communalism, pacifism, socialism and the like.

The central point to note is that if we combine all these characteristics of the dominant idea of “peace” in our society, then we have to conclude that the “peace” we hold to, and which we work to maintain, is both a “disciplinary peace”, and a “colonial peace”. It is rooted in the maintenance of the present social and economic order, which in turn has emerged out of colonialism and imperialism. It is a status quo-oriented peace which seeks to maintain existing lines of control and forms of sovereign power. In an important sense, it is “pacification” rather than “peace”. It entails a continuing effort to pacify nature, pacify social and political conflict, pacify religion and culture, pacify sources of disruption and discord, and pacify the public and private sphere. From one perspective, we could say that it is the dark side of the Enlightenment aim to master and tame the natural and the social world for the universal betterment of mankind (I use this term deliberately because our notion is in many respects also a “patriarchal peace”).

Briefly, then, what are some of the consequences of holding to this dominant pacifying, colonial view of “peace”? Within the field of peace studies, it can and has led to a disproportionate focus on the indigenous or global south ‘Other’. That is, a great deal of

peace studies research involves often white, certainly Western or global north, scholars doing research on global south countries and communities to try and help them resolve their violent conflicts. Certainly, it rarely involves in-depth research into how violent western states are or how they cause violence in the global south. There is also a great deal of research in peace studies on how to manage and resolve conflicts at all levels of society, on the assumption that when groups and individuals settle their conflicts through negotiation and dialogue, this will automatically create a more peaceful and harmonious society. Apart from the criticism that this can be a tool of pacification and the prevention of much-needed revolutionary change, it is noteworthy that early peace scholars argued that peace studies ought to focus equally on conflict creation because social conflict is a necessary step towards social justice. Obviously, there are very few peace scholars today who teach, research or practice conflict creation.

In terms of the state and international practices of peacebuilding, the dominant conception of “peace” as pacification and maintenance of the status quo has led to a focus on practices like humanitarian intervention and state-building programmes, liberal peacebuilding programmes (including development assistance designed to create neoliberal economies integrated into the global economic system), security cooperation programmes, Security Sector Reform, and generally what is called “state stabilisation”, which amounts to trying to create Western-style societies in global south nations. We can see this very clearly in places like Afghanistan, Iraq, Timor Leste, Burundi, and many other places.

A second question: What kind of “peace” should we be working towards?

So, if the current conception of “peace” is perhaps not as consistent, ethical or useful as it should be, what kind of “peace” should we be working towards? In attempting to answer this question, a crucial acknowledgement has to be that there is not

or could never be a single, universal form of “peace” which everyone has to adopt, or which can encompass all the important values and dimensions which “peace” can and should entail. In this sense, any conception of “peace” we plan to adopt and promote must necessarily be a “pluralistic peace” in recognition that there is no single homogeneous or universal “peace” but many different “peaces” determined by time, place, culture and values. What one group of people values as “peace” may differ from what another group values. It may also depend on what level of focus we have – individual “inner peace” versus “peace” at the family level, versus “peace” at the collective group level. So, for example, what is valued as “inner peace” and which is focused on quiet and tranquility may be quite different to what is valued at the collective level, where social conflict, resistance and vigorous contestation is understood as an indication of real “peace”. Moreover, what is valued as “peace” in one historical era may be different to what “peace” means in another era.

In many ways, this understanding of “peace” as necessarily pluralistic and rooted in political values and identities points us towards the notion of “agonistic peace”, as articulated by Rosemary Shinko. Agonistic peace rests on the acceptance of difference and conflict as inherent to society, but rather than seeking to overcome difference and resolve conflict as the liberal peace and the modern state does, it focuses on creating political space where antagonism and enmity is transformed into agonistic dialogue and adversity. In other words, it entails accepting that conflict, contestation and vigorous debate is ineradicable and inescapable and therefore “peace” involves finding ways to have permanent conflict and contestation about important issues relating to politics and society. In this sense, it means accepting that “peace” is an ongoing contestable and deliberative process, not an endpoint or final condition.

However, notwithstanding the plurality of “peace” and its necessarily contested and agonistic nature, it is possible to gesture

towards some key dimensions which are both sadly missing from our current theory and practice, and which are necessary to overcoming some of the problems and dangers we have identified with current conceptions. I don’t have time to discuss these in any depth, but they are in some respects self-evident – at least to this audience, I presume.

For example, it seems clear that because there can be no “peace” without justice, then we ought to take seriously and work towards the concept of “just peace”. In our own context of Aotearoa, there can be no real “peace” until the injustice of the colonial conquest has been righted and the harmful consequences of that conquest have been overcome.

It is also evident to me at least, that we must ensure that we are working towards a “pacifist or nonviolent peace”. In the words of the scholar and activist, Stellan Vinthagen, as peace scholars and citizens we must be “against violence, without violence”. This includes all kinds of violence, but especially direct

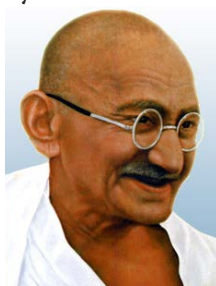


physical violence as expressed through the military. A crucial reason for this is that the means and ends of political action cannot be separated: just as planting a weed cannot result in the blooming of a rose, as Gandhi put it, so building and maintaining a violent institution like the military cannot result in the establishment of peace. Gandhi went on to say, “I oppose the use of violence because the good it can do is temporary but the harm it does is permanent”. The philosopher Hannah Arendt said something similar, noting that the use of violence such as the military always changes the world, most often to a more violent world.



Related to this, I believe we have to give serious consideration to, and work towards an “anarchist peace”, given the violent

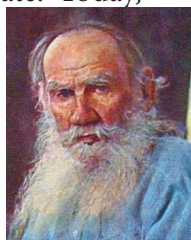
domination of the modern sovereign state. Although the state does provide a great many public goods, due to its historical origins in colonialism and imperialism, it is an inherently violent structure which continues to cause a great deal of harm to individuals, groups and the planet we live on. Through its monopoly on the use of legitimate violence, its ability to kill and make its citizens kill, its involvement in wars and ecological destruction, its regulation of every aspect of a citizen's life, its limited accountability, its power of life and death over individuals, its capture by economic elites and the limited avenues citizens have to make it act differently, it can be properly viewed as one of the main sources of violence in the world today. Most importantly, as numerous historical and contemporary examples show, including the examples of indigenous communities around the world, the public goods provided by the state can be provided in other ways



by other forms of political organisation. Historically, Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy both gestured towards, and attempted to work towards, the construction of anarcho-pacifist peace communities beyond the state. Today,

the Zapatistas, Kurdish groups and the landless peasants' movement in Brazil, among many others, are demonstrating how radically anti-capitalist, radically-democratic and in some cases, indigenous values-based communities can be built which are autonomous from the state, and which provide the same public goods as the state but without the same violent forms of sovereign power. In sum, "peace" in the world would seem to necessitate a world without armed and centralised states, and there are historical and contemporary examples of how we might move towards this goal.

At this moment in history, it is no more than commonsense that we have to start to theorise and practise "ecological or



environmental peace". We face an existential threat in climate change, and one of the many negative effects of climate change is likely to be increased social conflict and an enhanced risk of large-scale direct violence. Much of this suffering will take place in the global south and among indigenous communities. Moreover, there is no doubt that climate change itself is a direct result of the violence of capitalism, colonialism and militarism. Not only do militaries around the world contribute significantly to global warming, but the colonial-capitalist system is based on the extraction and exploitation of natural resources from former colonies, including things like oil, timber, minerals and so on – all of which directly drive climate change. Climate change is therefore a continuing effect of colonialism. From this perspective, a decolonial anarcho-pacifism in the mode of Gandhian philosophy would be a useful starting point for thinking seriously about environmental peace.

In the end, it is clear that we need to seriously decolonise our understanding of "peace" and make sustained efforts towards the development of a concept of "decolonial peace". Many of the key problems and challenges we have identified with our dominant understanding of "peace" come back to the enduring violent legacy of colonialism. A decolonial peace rooted in reflexivity, social justice, indigenous values and worldviews, autonomy, nonviolence, and ecological awareness is the direction we need to move in at this moment in history.

This leads to my final question: What can we do practically to realise a new normative form of "peace"?

I don't have all or even many of the answers to this question. I can only offer a few brief suggestions for how we might move forward. The point of my talk is to stimulate thought and debate and hopefully, further research into this important question. Nevertheless, there are a few things we could start doing immediately.

First, there is a need to continue de-colonising our peace theory, our peace research, our peace teaching and our peace practice. There

are many aspects to this, but a key part of it involves re-directing our gaze from the global south Other to the Western Self. Instead of focusing all our attention on the violent conflict over there, we need to focus on the violence embedded and practiced in our own societies here. As a practical example, instead of taking students on study trips to conflict-affected global south countries, we could take them to military bases and industries in our own countries to better understand how Western militarism causes conflicts in other countries. Another part of decolonising our teaching and research involves listening to the voices of indigenous and global south scholars and researchers – making sure that our teaching curriculums don't simply reproduce the established western canon of white male philosophers.

Second, as I have argued elsewhere, we need to embrace and reorient our research and focus towards the theory and practice of resistance. This will provide a new academic language and concepts, as well as a new normative orientation towards social justice and decoloniality. It will help us to focus on power, domination, exploitation, the state, capitalism and all forms of violence, and will connect us to those activists and communities who are already struggling hard for social and environmental justice, indigenous values, anti-capitalism and anti-militarism.

Third, and relatedly, I strongly believe we also need to re-orient our peace practice towards activism – protest, direct action, revolutionary nonviolence, and conflict provocation/conflict creation. For too long, peace studies has been viewed as a pacification project, smoothing the way for neoliberalism and westernisation, part of the dominant structures of power.

Certainly, in the broader activist movement, there remains suspicion and wariness towards peace studies, given its proclivity for most often seeking to resolve local conflicts and never provoking local conflicts as a necessary way of achieving social justice. In particular, there is a need for peace studies to come out in active support of the environmental justice movement, and be a part of transforming the global economy towards a low carbon, zero

growth, decolonised and more socially equal economic system.

Finally, in addition to direct protest action, decolonisation, and pacifism, I believe that as peace scholars we need to start engaging in prefigurative politics and what Gandhi called the constructive project. This entails creating new social realities through collective action, and it is exemplified in the popular phrase “be the change you wish to see in the world”. Majken Sørensen calls it constructive resistance, and says that it “occurs when people start to build the society they desire independently of structures of power.” It is people acting together to “acquire, create, built, cultivate and experiment with what people need in the present moment — or what they would like to see replacing dominant structures or power relations.” Importantly, there are numerous examples of activist communities experimenting with exactly these kinds of actions all over the world. Extinction Rebellion not only practice direct democracy in their organising, but they are also trying to create and expand the reach of “citizen assemblies” as a way of creating a new kind of democratic politics that is not reliant on political parties and existing political institutions. Other groups are creating their own food production systems in local areas to help create food security and reduce inequalities. Some are creating carbon free transportation systems, or reclaiming the streets for walking and cycling. Others are building shared eco-housing communities or eco-villages, creating home-schooling cooperatives, establishing bartering systems and recycling systems, and many, many more such activities.

Conclusion

Peace is not a clear or universally agreed concept. Nor is it easy to grasp. It is contested and complicated, and requires a continuous process of self-reflection and reflexivity. However, as we face both a global decolonial moment and the existential threat of climate change brought on by capitalism, the state and militarism, there has never been a better moment for pausing, reflecting and re-thinking our concept of “peace”.

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO

Director's Report on the Centre

It has been a somewhat challenging year for the Centre, with a relocation to a new location, incorporation into the new School of Social Sciences, changes to the University's administrative structures, and the shock of the Christchurch terrorist attacks. However, the people of the Centre have shown good heart and resilience over the year in facing these challenges, and everyone continues to perform well in their roles. Student numbers have held up, and staff are performing well in their research, publications, grants, teaching and public engagement.

Highlights from 2019 include a series of events to mark the Centre's 10th anniversary since opening, including a major conference in late November, and a trip by staff and students to visit the Hokotehi Moriori Trust in Rekohu in September. Following the terrorist attacks in Christchurch, the Centre responded with a public statement (<https://www.otago.ac.nz/ncpacs/index.html>), extensive media engagement, a submission to the Commission on the attacks, a research project into and a variety of other local initiatives aimed at the promotion of anti-racism and strengthening multiculturalism. With a series of new initiatives to promote biculturalism, and a new look to the Trust which supports the Centre, we are well-placed going into 2020.

Me Rongo
Richard Jackson



Prof. Richard Jackson





Prof. Kevin Clements (right) first Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, receives a bouquet from the present Director, Prof. Richard Jackson, at a function during the conference to honour Kevin and his work.

How Can It Be?

Bethlehem –
small town
undistinguished
grown larger as her sons return
awaiting prophetic fulfilment.

Mary–
small girl
unimportant
growing larger as the life of God
grows beneath her heart.

Jesus–
small baby
vulnerable
yet heralded by heaven
worshipped by magi.

And we –
undistinguished
unimportant
vulnerable – believe
but can in no way understand
how the source of life
creator, sustainer of the universe
with tiny arms swaddled,
yet lifted those arms
for our salvation.

Meg Hartfield, from "A Celebration of Life"

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship New Zealand Branch

www.converge.org.nz/pma/apf or www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk

Protector: The Most Revd Philip Richardson

Chairman: Revd Dr Jonathan Hartfield, email <ilesa@xtra.co.nz>

Secretary: Ven. Indrea Alexander, email <apfnzsecretary@gmail.com>

Treasurer: Revd Mary Davies, email <marydavies1934@gmail.com>

Newsletter Editor: Pat Barfoot, email <barfoots@xtra.co.nz>

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