

# **Annex 4**

# **Conscientious Objection**

## Annex 4

### Conscientious Objection

#### The Golden Rule<sup>1</sup>

Baha’I Faith: Lay not on any soul a load that you would not wish to be laid upon you, and desire not for anyone the things you would not desire for yourself (**Baha’iu’llah**, *Gleanings*)

Buddhism: Treat not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful (**The Buddha**, *Udana-Varga 5.18*)

Christianity: In everything, do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets (Jesus, *Matthew 7:12*)

Confucianism: One word which sums up the basis of all good conduct... loving kindness. Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself (**Confucius**, *Analects 15.23*)

Islam: not one of you truly believes until you wish for others what you wish for yourself (**The Prophet Muhammad**, *Hadith*)

Jainism: One should treat all creatures in the world as one would like to be treated (**Mahavira**, *Sutrakritanga*)

Judaism: What is hateful to you, do not do to your neighbour. This is the whole Torah; all the rest is commentary (**Hillel**, *Talmud, Shabbat 31a*)

Native Spirituality: We are as much alive as we keep the earth alive (Chief Dan George)

Sikhism: I am a stranger to no one; and no one is a stranger to me. Indeed, I am a friend to all (**Guru Granth Sahib**, *pg. 1299*)

Taoism: Regard your neighbour’s gain as your own gain, and your neighbour’s loss as your own loss (**Lao Tzu**, *T’ai Shang Kan Ying P’ien, 213-218*)

Unitarianism: We affirm and promote respect for the interdependent web of all existence of which we are a part (*Unitarian principle*)

Zoroastrianism: Do not do unto others whatever is injurious to yourself (**Shayast-na-Shayast 13.29**)

Scarboro Missions, A Canadian Catholic community of priests and lay people, from a poster designed by Kathy VanLoon, All Rights Reserve, Paul McKenna, 2000. To order poster, contact: Broughton’s, 2105 Danforth Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4C 1K1, Tel: (416) 690-4777, Fax: (416) 690 690-5357, email: sales@bbroughton.com

“...I haven’t got any religion very much, not religion in your sense. But you talk about Christianity, the religion of Christ. Well, I can’t imagine Jesus Christ taking a bayonette in His hands and sticking it into the stomach of a German soldier or an English soldier either for that matter. I can’t imagine Jesus Christ sitting behind an English machine gun or a German machine gun mowing down dozens of perfectly guiltless men”.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientious\\_objection\\_throughout\\_the\\_world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientious_objection_throughout_the_world), quoting a character in A.J. Cronin’s 1935 novel, The Stars Look Down

“The faith of Islam, in the vast majority of its interpretations, is not in conflict with the other great Abrahamic traditions. Instead of shouting at one another, our faiths ask us to listen, and learn from one another. As we do, one of our first lessons might well centre on those powerful, but often neglected chapters in history when Islamic and European cultures interacted co-operatively and creatively to realize some of civilization’s peak achievements ... I am deeply convinced that the fundamental roots of this crisis are infinitely more political than they are theological. Bringing peace and order to this complex situation will require great subtlety, patience, understanding and knowledge. Sadly, none, I repeat none, of these requirements are sufficiently available amongst the main players today. There is clumsiness, not subtlety, there is impatience, not patience, there is a massive deficit in understanding and an enormous knowledge vacuum”. (The Aga Khan, speaking in Paris on the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary as leader of the world’s 15 million Ismaili Muslims, quoted by Richard Foot, in The Ottawa Citizen, page A4, July 11, 2007,).

The 20<sup>th</sup> Century designation of conscientious objection as a human right (by such organizations as the United Nations and the Council of Europe) has not always translated into protective legislation for conscientious objectors in countries with conscription. Indeed, conscientious objectors are still severely punished, especially when countries are also embroiled in armed conflict (for example, Israel, Palestine and the Democratic Republic of the Congo<sup>i</sup>). Most European countries with conscription do have some semblance of protective legislation, for example<sup>ii</sup>:

- In 17<sup>th</sup> Century Britain, the Militia Ballot Act enshrined the right not to fight by allowing Quakers exclusion from military service. Objection on other grounds was not an option until the Military Service act (May 1916) introduced universal male conscription, with the possibility of alternate service in non-combatant roles, assuming a tribunal could be convinced. Forty one of about 1000 men who refused any service were sentenced to death but reprieved by government intervention.
- Under the Siviilpalvelus act, passed in 1931, Finland allows conscientious objectors to provide civilian rather than military services in times of peace, but not in war. (The same act is now often referred to as Lex Pekurinen, in memory of a famous pacifist who was executed in 1941, without trial, for refusing to fight during the war).
- In Germany, where conscientious objection is a constitutional right, all German males must serve nine months of either military or alternative civilian service, or 100 hours each year for six years in a civil protection organization. By 2003, more than half of all draftees refused military in favour of alternative service. Women can become professional soldiers, or volunteer one year of social services.
- East Germany brings an interesting example of a communist state bowing to pressure from organized religion. A total of 287 Jehovah’s Witness are said to have been arrested as enemies of the state rather than submit to the compulsory conscription policy of 1962. The Lutheran Church (speaking at least nominally for about 80% of the population) objected and, on September 16, 1963, the then communist government introduced the concept of Baueinheiten (literally “construction units”) within the Nationale Volksarmee or NVA (literally “National People’s Army”). Sporting spades on their shoulder patches, and separated from soldiers (for fear of spreading pacifism), conscientious objectors were obliged to swear an oath to “increase defence readiness”. Although they carried no weapons, their work did include such things as repairing tanks.

- Italy passed a law on conscientious objection in 1998 (Law 230/98). It provided for research and implementation of nonviolent civilian defence, and allowed conscientious objectors to serve outside national territory under four circumstances: if services (1) were rendered outside Italy; (2) possibly in countries where Italy operated development aid projects; (3) in humanitarian missions even where Italian contingents were not engaged; and 4) possibly in operations where Italian personnel were employed<sup>26</sup>. New to Italy, were three further elements: 1) the presence of Italian troops was no longer a precondition; 2) conscientious objectors could be associated with government projects; and non-violent civilian work with the National Bureau for Civil Service and the Department for Civil Protection.<sup>iii</sup>
- The Spanish Constitution of 1978 led to to Prestacion Social Sustitoria (substitute social service) by recognizing conscientious objectors. However, large numbers of conscripts are now refusing both options.
- A very modern Canadian version of the debate is unfolding in Canada, as churches and citizens debate Canada's foreign policy in Afghanistan, with its militaristic rather than traditional peace keeping thrust. Joanna Santa Barbara<sup>iv</sup> provides a topical example. On May 19, 2007, she made a presentation to the Canadian Council of Churches, as part of its soul searching on Canada's role in Afghanistan. Most apt, in the context of this particular discussion, is how she places Canadian policy on Afghanistan within a Christian framework. "What I take as a non-expert, to be Christian principles relevant to this issue", she notes, is: "reject violence; make peace; love your enemies; forgive; and take care of people who are hungry, sick, or in prison." She continues: "Our version, developed through Peace Studies (is): nonviolence; peacemaking through dialogue; empathy for all parties; reconciliation; and attend to basic needs and human rights".<sup>v</sup> Most of her address to the Canadian Council of Churches is given below as a topical and informed Canadian example of the interplay between conscience, faith, and national policy.

Federal Republic of Germany Without an Army (BoA)<sup>vi</sup>:

"The campaign "Federal Republic of Germany Without an Army" (BoA) -- often called "the Bund" by anglophones -- has set as its aim the total abolition of armaments and of the armed forces. It is working for an ecological and just world free of arms. It was launched in 1989 and found many supporters from different peace groups and organizations. The campaign argues that it is now the time to question the military fundamentally since it lost its legitimation in the eyes a great part of the population after the end of the Cold War.

"Even people who do not consider themselves pacifists agree that Germany is not subject to a military threat, and, a more decisive argument still, that Germany as other industrial countries cannot be defended militarily. Any military conflict would result in total destruction. In view of the latest developments in NATO and the United Nations, another argument can be added: Military interventions become a more and more common instrument of international politics, the final goal being to achieve egoistic economic or political aims (Gulf War). Germany wants to play a more active role in this, even breaking its constitution to send the German Army overseas.

“The "BoA"-campaign attempts to win back the initiative by not only fighting the defensive struggle against "out of area" deployments of the army, but promoting an alternative concept of peace politics against the normalization of war. The Swiss initiative named "For a Switzerland without an Army and For a Comprehensive Peace Policy" has shown that it is possible to make a political issue of the demand for total disarmament and to gain large public support for this (36 % of votes in a referendum in November 1989).

“Not having the constitutional provision for a referendum in Germany, other methods and points of departure were chosen, like the collection of signatures for the appeal, local work with the aim of establishing military-free zones, informing the public via handouts, vigils, stalls etc, nonviolent activities against military exhibitions or facilities of the Federal Armed Forces and NATO forces, conscientious objection and total objection. The 15th of May, traditionally the "Day of the War Resister" was chosen as an action day for BoA.”<sup>vii</sup>

Main Body of Joanna Santa Barbara's Presentation to the Canadian Council of Churches governing body:

A Peace Policy for Canada in Afghanistan, "Time for Moral Leadership", May 19, 2007:

“I'm most grateful for this invitation and immensely impressed by the thoughtful deliberations by the CCC on the Afghanistan issue that have preceded this meeting. I've been engaged in work on Afghanistan for about 8 years – initially and still on mental health and peace education. This has led to increasing convictions about the role of Canada in Afghanistan and the belief that our nation could play a far more constructive role to the benefit of Afghan people now and in the future. My work there has been with a team of people associated with the Centre for Peace Studies at McMaster University, including Dr. Graeme MacQueen, my husband, Jack Santa Barbara, and two Afghan-Canadians who spend most of their time in Afghanistan, consulting with the Ministry of Education - Susan Wardak and Dr. Seddiq Weera. The ideas I will present are supported by this group and more recently by Physicians for Global Survival – Canada and the Canadian-Afghan Peace Partnership – a cluster of people thoughtfully addressing Canada's role. These ideas developed over years of engagement directly with Afghans from across the political spectrum and at all levels of society. I've participated directly in some of these meetings in Afghanistan...

“Timing and context

In Afghanistan,

- A good deal is getting worse in Afghanistan – the breadth of the insurgency, government corruption, drug cultivation and trade.
- The discontent at all levels, from the President to the villager with how Western Forces are conducting the ‘war on terrorism’ in Afghanistan, and the resulting anger with foreign troops
- Risk that the Karzai government will collapse, and fear of what will follow a collapse. Discontent with Karzai within government circles and possibilities of destabilization.

“In Canada,

- Considerable doubt among Canadians about their nation's current role in Afghanistan. This is expressed in parliamentary debates, scholarly discourse and in demands to get Canadian troops out now.
- A rising feeling that war as an institution is becoming discredited. (I doubt it ever enjoyed high credit in this admirable institution.)

- A countercurrent in the present Canadian military leadership to prefer war-fighting and let Peacekeeping fall by the wayside.

“Principles

What I take as a non-expert, to be Christian principles relevant to this issue:

- Reject violence
- Make peace
- Love your enemies
- Forgive
- Take care of people who are hungry, sick, or in prison

“Our version, developed through Peace Studies:

- Nonviolence
- Peacemaking through dialogue
- Empathy for all parties
- Reconciliation
- Attend to basic needs and human rights

“It’s not surprising then, that we have arrived, it seems, at very similar positions on the issues at hand. I’ll first summarize what I understand to be your pathway through this issue and then present and support our positions.

**“Canadian Council of Churches’ Pathway Jan 2002: Letter to two standing committees:**

Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs & International Trade and National Defence & Veterans’ Affairs. This letter, written within months of Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan, homed in on certain key issues:

- The legality of fighting a regime-change war
- Whether the Canadian government had accepted Bush doctrines on the so-called ‘war on terror’.
- The treatment of detainees according to international law in the light of the outside-the-law, newly-established Guantanamo Bay prison.

Very, very good questions were asked in this letter.

“Jan 2007: Forum on Afghanistan, which, I understand was attended mainly by staff and NGO people: An excellent summary by Bill Janzen highlighted the following points, among others:

- Again, while it was agreed that terrorism is an issue needing a response, the so-called ‘war on terrorism’ is not the right response.
- Canadians have a responsibility to help Afghanistan establish good governance, the rule of law, a functioning economy and educational opportunity.
- Use of lethal force in Afghanistan is undesirable. The counter-insurgency war, begun by the US, joined later by Canadians, is not the route to peace.
- Protection of the population is a legitimate use of Canadian Forces.
- There needs to be political dialogue with both the armed opposition including the Taliban, and with Pakistan in order to establish peace.
- Elsewhere in this forum, the issue of militarization of humanitarian aid was raised

“Finally, ...the draft letter to our Prime Minister, raising six major points about Canada’s role:

- The need for a reconciliation process

- The importance of diplomacy, both discussions with insurgents and with neighbouring countries
- Promotion of human rights – in general, and in particular with respect to the handling of detainees
- The importance of just governance, the problems of corruption and the presence of people with armed militias in the government, and the problem of skewed representation of the population in the government, with poor Pashtun representation.
- The importance of channeling Canadian resources to reconstruction and development, rather than to ever more elaborate hardware for the fighting of a counterinsurgency war
- Security for Afghans will be based on protection, not counterinsurgency operations and not on joining the so-called war on terror.

#### “The Third Option

These points are very close indeed to the ones my group has been advocating, often under the label of ‘The Third Option’. We called it this to draw attention to the fact that we were indeed calling for Canada to stop fighting a counterinsurgency war, but not for Canada to withdraw troops altogether which is often seen as the alternative option. The Third Option, which you have easily discerned, is that there is a role for Canadian forces in peace support operations for the fragile reconstruction processes that have begun.

#### “Peace dialogues

The centerpiece of our position, however, is the urgent advocacy of peace dialogues with the armed opposition. Unless it is proposed to annihilate every member of the armed opposition, how else is this war to end? Isn’t it better to attempt dialogue now than when hundreds or thousands more Afghans have been killed and injured, and tens or hundreds more Canadians have died or been disabled in war? Some time back I raised this on a Hamilton TV programme. The host berated me for advocating ‘talking to terrorists’. I should have pointed out that it was only when such dialogue was entered into that the intractable Northern Ireland conflict began to be transformed into its far more promising current form. Lawrence Martin, G&M 06/10:

“In fact, negotiations of that sort have been thought of and done on numerous occasions. We negotiated with the FLQ during the 1970 October Crisis. Tony Blair negotiated with the Irish Republican Army. Washington negotiated with Libya's Moammar Gadhafi and, of course, the Evil Empire. In Uganda, the government has been talking to the fanatical Lord's Resistance Army. Anyone with the slightest acquaintance with history can find dozens of other examples. Our McMaster group has advocated this for some years. Last year we felt strongly enough about it that we gathered some money between ourselves to support our Kabul-based team member while he carried out probe dialogues with high-ranking members of the Taliban and the Party of Islam. The results of these were very interesting. He found his interlocutors to be favourable to serious dialogue – so much so that they had lists of talking points. They wanted to address such issues as the release of prisoners from Guantanamo Bay and Bagram prisons, more representation in the political process and having more religious schools. These are surely issues that can be negotiated. This team member, Dr. Seddiq Weera, was briefly back in Canada last week, and I was able to ask him whether channels for dialogue were still open. He said there were many such channels and they were open. Lawrence Martin in the Globe and Mail on May 10, two weeks ago. In Afghanistan, as countless experts have pointed out, there are diplomatic openings. Just this week, a former top Taliban official, [Abdul Salam Zaeef](#), said a settlement with President Hamid Karzai’s government is possible. The Taliban are not monolithic: There are moderate elements, radical elements and elements that aren’t even Taliban. Diplomacy holds out the possibility of at least bringing moderates on board while isolating the extremists Martin went on to complain that

of Canadian political leaders only Jack Layton was carrying the idea of a diplomatic solution, and had been derided for his efforts.

“It is very heartening to see this idea entering discourse on Afghanistan more and more.

- Lakhdar Brahimi, UN envoy to Afghanistan during the post-9/11 invasion, and until 2004, organized the Bonn conference after the US-UK forces pushed the Taliban out of Kabul. He interpreted current events thus: the Taliban, having been excluded from the political process in Afghanistan, took to arms to make themselves heard. He said, "One of my own biggest mistakes was not to speak to the Taliban in 2002 and 2003. "It was not possible to get them in the tent at the Bonn conference because of 9/11 and they themselves were not eager. But immediately after that, we should've spoken to those who were willing to speak to us. That I consider to be my mistake — a very, very big mistake."
- Early this month, the Afghan Senate said in a formal vote intent on ending the rising bloodshed in the country, that Afghanistan's government should hold direct talks with the resurgent Taliban and other opposition forces, The senate, the upper house of the Afghan parliament, also urged Western troops in the U.S.-led coalition and Afghan forces to halt the hunt for Taliban fighters and other militants.
- Jack Layton, NDP leader said in parliament a few weeks ago, ‘Showing leadership in Afghanistan means taking concrete steps toward peace negotiations, something we cannot effectively do while we wage war.’
- Chris Alexander, Canada's former ambassador to Afghanistan and now a leading UN official in Afghanistan, said that the absence of a peace deal in Afghanistan is fueling the conflict.
- Gordon Smith, former senior Canadian diplomat and head of Global studies at the University of Victoria, called on the international community to undertake serious efforts at inclusive and comprehensive peace negotiations.
- Najibullah Lafraie, Afghanistan’s Foreign Minister from 1992-96 said that a new intra-Afghan dialogue including all political sides should take place, providing opportunity for expression of grievances and all points of view, forging a new social contract.
- Bill Frist, US Senate majority leader, said last year while visiting Afghanistan, “You need to bring them [the Taliban] into a more transparent type of government. And if that's accomplished, we'll be successful."
- Peggy Mason, Canada’s former Ambassador for Disarmament insists there is no way to deal with this conflict other than comprehensive negotiation under UN leadership, focusing not only on the internal political process in Afghanistan but encompassing all the neighbouring countries – Pakistan, India, Iran - that must be part of the solution. The entire history of civil wars since the end of the Cold war demonstrates that this is the only effective way to end the conflict. Political problems are at the heart of the Afghan conflict and these problems must be addressed. Only then can the extremists and spoilers be dealt with because everyone else will be on the inside of the political process’.
- [ ] The Canadian public is, as often the case, way ahead of its leaders. October 19 2006 Globe and Mail Opinion poll: a question was asked about talking to the Taliban: 62% think "negotiating with the Taliban" is a good idea. 36% say it is a poor idea, 2% don't know. This option is gaining favour quickly in the broader public.

“Our government will be led by its people toward this necessary conclusion. The role of opinion-leaders in pointing the way is very important, and may effectively shorten the time, and thus save lives, in getting to this inevitable point.

“We have also wanted to raise the importance of involving women in Afghan peace dialogues, not necessarily in the face-to-face aspects of exchanges, but with close engagement in the substance of dialogues. It is important that the gains in women’s rights incorporated in the new Afghan constitution (but only barely implemented in daily life) be strongly protected, and that the gifts women bring to peacemaking be used.

“The role of Canadian troops:

1. Should Canadian Forces be fighting a counterinsurgency war against Taliban, Hezb-e-Islami and Al Qaeda militias?
2. If not, what should they do? Get out, or engage in peace support?

“1. There are two issues here, one of principle and one of pragmatism. Should such a war be fought at all, and is it working? I suggest the answer to both is ‘no’, and that further, rather than improving the situation, it is making things much worse.

There is fairly widespread agreement that the counterinsurgency war is not going smoothly, to say the least. Many voices suggest that this kind of violent conflict cannot be won. I believe you will have heard these voices and will not spend a lot of time belabouring this point. The particular military choice made is costing large numbers of Afghan civilian lives, the lives of Afghan police and soldiers, the lives of those drawn for a range of reasons to fight with the armed opposition in Afghanistan, as well as the lives of western soldiers, including Canadians. All lives are of equal value. For every life lost, others are injured and subsequently disabled. Families are displaced from their homes. This war is angering the people in the regions in which it is being waged, and turning the initial goodwill of Afghans to foreign troops to bitterness. For some, [] bitterness, poverty and hopelessness motivate enlistment in the armed opposition.

- President Karzai recently met with NATO, U.S. and European Union officials, telling them that "civilian deaths and arbitrary decisions to search people's houses have reached an unacceptable level, and Afghans cannot put up with it any longer," according to a statement from his office has but five years on, it is very difficult for us to continue to accept civilian casualties ... the way they occur."
- The Afghan Senate has voted that it should be ended.
- It is very clear that development to meet basic needs in food, water, sanitation, medical services, which Afghans so desperately need, cannot take place sustainably in the presence of war.

“Is there a helpful role for Canadian Forces in Afghanistan?

- Yes. There is an enormous need for peace support, or some modification of peacekeeping in expanding areas of normalized social functioning.
- In conversation with Major Brent Beardsley, the Canadian peacekeeper who remained with Romeo Dallaire in Rwanda, and co-wrote the book, ‘Shake Hands with the Devil’, favoured the idea of peace dialogues in Afghanistan, and said that Canadians are trained to move swiftly into peacekeeping if that is what is required of them.
- Dr. Walter Dorn who teaches Peacekeeping in Canadian military colleges believes it is tragic and untimely that the Canadian Forces have dropped peacekeeping to focus on war-fighting. He suggests that ‘robust peacekeeping’ is exactly the right model for Afghanistan, returning to the time-honoured principles of impartiality, consent and minimum use of force. For this, a peace agreement is necessary and should be sought, he asserts.

“There are strong reasons to assert the importance of this rather than withdrawing Canadian or other western troops immediately. The western invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 interrupted a vicious civil war, between the Northern Alliance on one side, and the Taliban and Party of Islam on the other. The dynamics have changed in the six intervening years, but the grievances remain unresolved until they come to be addressed in the peace dialogues I’ve advocated. Troop withdrawal before that achievement is likely to facilitate a brutal resumption of this violent conflict.

“This would be an honourable role for the Canadian Forces. Most ordinary soldiers involved in Afghanistan genuinely want to help the suffering in that country. It is up to those who set policy to use their abilities and courage constructively. It is up to the moral leadership of Canada to help guide this process.

“This is a role for Canadian Forces that would sit far more comfortably with the Canadian population, even those increasing numbers who, concerned with the reasons for entry into this war, and the way it has been conducted, are crying out for total withdrawal of Canadian Forces from Afghanistan.

“Advocacy of this position, a principled one, I would assert, would also be easier for the Canadian government to accept, I imagine, than a position of total troop withdrawal.

#### “Reconciliation

Enormous harm has been done between ethnic and political factions in Afghanistan over the last quarter century. There is a deep cultural assumption that it’s important to get or maintain one’s own group in power, then to suppress or marginalize the other groups, to reduce their power and the likelihood of challenge, or in vengeance for the previous turn of the wheel. Many Afghans are aware that this cycle of vengeance and violence must be brought to an end. This will not happen spontaneously. It will need a well-devised, widely accepted, well-resourced and skillfully handled reconciliation process. Such a process can be compared to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process, but must be congruent with the highest ideals in Afghan culture. And those ideals, of forgiveness and reconciliation are there, alongside the darker elements of deep culture mentioned. A shaky start is being made with moves towards war crimes trials. Already these are coming to grief on the shoals of warlord parliamentary power. (It’s the warlords who committed the war crimes).

This would be such a fruitful area for Canadian assistance, once we were no longer preoccupied with the costs of air-conditioning enormous tanks, and all the rest of the outrageous costs of war-fighting. Imagine substantial Canadian assistance with resourcing a comprehensive reconciliation process. How much better for Canadian funding to go to this purpose than on fighting a damaging and unnecessary war with no end in sight.

#### “Development

The extreme poverty of Afghanistan obligates us to continue help in meeting basic needs in a sustainable way. Average lifespan is 45 years, infant and maternal mortality rates are way outside the range of other south Asian countries. War and development are not only incompatible, war reverses development. A good deal of development effort will be absorbed in repairing the damage from 28 years of war, including the present one.

“In this arena, there is some good news, illustrating what can be done cooperatively toward peace and reconciliation. The two Afghan-Canadian members of our team in Kabul work as consultants to the Ministry of Education. They have been instrumental in developing peace education curricula for the children of Afghanistan, contributing to establishing a Culture of Peace, rather

than a Culture of Violence and War. Stories and puppets, 42,000 sets of storybooks, distributed to all 9000 schools in the 34 provinces and to the Teachers' Training Colleges. We have just written a Teachers' Guide to lessons, and one of our team will shortly go to Afghanistan to teach trainers and to initiate a baseline evaluation measurement so we can see if this curriculum works. Another piece of good news is that the Minister of Education, Hanif Atmar, closely associated with our peace education ideas from his earlier career with an NGO, has very deliberately reached out to the religious schools or madrassas, and has secured enthusiastic agreement for including math, languages and science in their curriculum. These, and all other accomplishments in development, are fragile gains, sustainable only if there is a measure of stability in this suffering country, and threatened in the current trajectory of political dynamics. Peace dialogues to end the war, a reconciliation process to heal the damage, together with peacekeeping while it is needed to protect these processes, lay out a pathway toward a peaceful future for Afghanistan, and principled, even noble potential contributions from Canada for achieving this.”<sup>viii</sup>

## **Endnotes – Annex 4:**

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<sup>i</sup> based on information at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientious\\_objection\\_throughout\\_the\\_world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientious_objection_throughout_the_world).

<sup>ii</sup> based on information at: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientious\\_objection\\_throughout\\_the\\_world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientious_objection_throughout_the_world).

<sup>iii</sup> Francesco Tullio, (a cura di), *La Difesa Civile e il progetto Caschi Bianchi*. Peacekeepers Civili Disarmati, Milano: Franco Angeli, 2001., p. 103 quoted by Martinelli, Marta: “Developing a Civilian Peace Corps: Does Italy Offer a Model for the EU?” Universite' Libre de Bruxelles Doctoral Candidate, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford (A first version of this paper was presented at NUPI, Oslo, in the framework of the RTN project “Bridging the Accountability Gap in ESDP”, 20-22 April 2002, where the author is engaged on behalf of the Universite' Libre de Bruxelles)

<sup>iv</sup> Joanna Santa Barbara, “Time for Moral Leadership”, an address to the Canadian Council of Churches governing body as part of its debate on A Peace Policy for Canada in Afghanistan, May 19, 2007.

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<sup>vi</sup> The following information is quoted from Home Page of: Soziale Verteidigung (BSV), Germany, Alliance for Social Defence at: <http://www.soziale-verteidigung.de>

<sup>vii</sup> Quoted from Home Page of: Soziale Verteidigung (BSV), Germany, Alliance for Social Defence at: <http://www.soziale-verteidigung.de>

<sup>viii</sup> Joanna Santa Barbara, “Time for Moral Leadership”, an address to the Canadian Council of Churches governing body as part of its debate on A Peace Policy for Canada in Afghanistan, May 19, 2007.