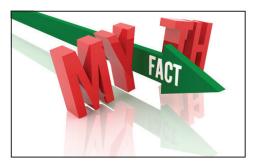
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The newsletter of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

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Our last issue focused on 'new wars', the asymmetric conflicts that normally take place beyond the borders of our safe Western world; conflicts that it can choose to ignore or participate in depending on its particular geopolitical interests (or, it seems, the whims of leaders!)

Now in just a matter of months, the West has been drawn into a totally different conflict, one that is highly complex, unpredictable and threatens much. The Ukraine conflict raises many questions for the anti-war movement, not least how the issues surrounding it are perceived - how the facts are interpreted and campaigns framed. These questions shape the theme of this TAP, and make it controversial because they challenge some of the myths and prejudices of the movement.

Over the past five years a number of important publications have examined the meaning and significance of war and come up with findings that are somewhat unpalatable to pacifists. But it is important for us to understand the arguments involved, challenge them where possible and adapt our arguments accordingly. These publications are dealt with in some detail here.

The book and arts pages follow these concerns with information related to the developments in Eastern Europe.

Tony Kempster

Written as a challenge to the Vietnam War by Norman Whitfield during the 1960s' counterculture, the song 'War' was a number one hit in the USA for Edwin Starr. It has since been recorded by a number of artists including Bruce Springsteen, to become one of the most popular protests songs ever written. It is rather appropriate in this issue of TAP as we contemplate the possibility of a return to the days of the Cold War with all the costs and dangers that this entails.



Poster by Alan Deas based on the words of

It is also a fitting opening to our theme because it begs an important question. Although the lyrics might be suited to musical polemic, is the anti-war movement right when it says that every war is "good for absolutely nothing"? So was the International Peace Bureau, for example, justified in making the following point in its press statement (11 March 2014) about the Ukraine conflict?

The events of the last few days and weeks only serve to confirm what the IPB and others in the disarmament wing of the international peace movement have been asserting for years: that in times of political tension, military force solves nothing. It provokes only more military force from the other side, and risks pushing both parties up and around an infernal spiral of violence.

This type of categorical assertion is not unusual: anti-war campaign materials and conference talks abound with them. But we will continue with the IPB example as it suits our theme.

MYTHS, FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The Ukraine conflict does not lend itself to easy analysis. Steeped in an ambiguous history, it is much more than a trial of strength between East and West: many different interests are involved and there is little clarity about what is at actually at stake or what would constitute an endgame.

Given the complexity, it is hardly surprising that a number of different interpretations have emerged. IPB's view, which informs the contention above, is that Russia has reacted because it resents NATO's expansion up to its borders, and the way the West has encouraged and funded the 'colour revolutions' that it sees as interference in its neighbourhood.

revolutions' that it sees as income.

First off, surely it is too early to say that nothing has been solved by the contrary, the chances are that Vladimir Putin has successfully achieved his immediate and boosting annexing Crimea – a good solution for him - consolidating his political position at home and boosting annexing Crimea – a good solution for him - consolidating his political position at home and boosting of a handful of his compatriots.

to further his aims in the eastern part of the country. By doing so, he may be able to gain more in due course and, worse still, become more ambitious in his military objectives.

But isn't this often in the very nature of things? The aggressor tests the water, waits for a response and reacts accordingly. There is ample evidence that in favourable circumstances and with the careful

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orchestration of events, military force can be successful. Consider three recent publications.

lan Morris (War, what is it good for, 2014) argues from a broad historical overview that war is the only invention that has allowed humankind to construct peaceful societies. (See

Nigel Biggar (In defence of war, 2013) argues against 'the virus of wishful thinking' in peacemaking and asserts that belligerency can be morally justified, even though tragic and morally flawed. He gives examples, and surprisingly the 2003 Iraq War is among them. (See page 10)

The Royal United Services Institute (Wars in peace, 2014) concludes that six of the ten British military operations since 1990 were strategic successes (but not the 2003 Iraq War,).

Clearly, the anti-war movement should be examining such conclusions and challenging them where appropriate. But to persist with the myth that they are absolutely wrong is an untenable position. It weakens the integrity of our message because we can appear naïve, poorly informed or even dishonest.

The same can be said of the movement's tendency to be overoptimistic about what can be achieved in the foreseeable future when trends are in the opposite direction as, for example, when we talk glibly about the abolition of war. Christopher Coker (Can war be eliminated, 2014) argues that contrary to such an opinion, it has played such a central role in the story because it is embedded in our cultural evolution and, unfortunately, this is likely to remain so for some time yet.

The movement's optimism on this point relies heavily on the belief that human beings are innately non-violent, a conclusion reached by the Seville Statement some 30 years ago. This was always controversial and new evidence discussed by Avi Tuschman, in Our political nature: the evolutionary origins of what divides us (2013), is a further challenge. He argues that authors of the Seville Statement committed a textbook case of the 'moralistic fallacy': they declared that their preferred view of the world is the way the world actually is.

Biased interpretation

Thus we have a tendency to be drawn to certain myths because they conform to our view of the world. But we now know that this view itself can be seriously biased.

Psychological research over the past 20 years shows that we are rarely the rational, logical creatures we assume ourselves to be. Often, even when we believe we are thinking things through, we are jumping to conclusions; using prejudice and emotion rather than considered analysis to arrive at what are flawed conclusions. Further, the mind may well go on to reinforce the beliefs by looking for supporting evidence while blinding itself to anything contradictory: so the beliefs become lenses through which our perceptions of the world are filtered. (These issues were discussed in some detail and referenced in the December 2011 issue of TAP.)

It follows - and is obvious to most observers - that the anti-war movement's perceptions of the world are shaped strongly by its leftist leanings and emotional involvement of its members. The recent influence of Stop the War Coalition has added to this view

Biased thinking does figure strongly in the movement's reaction to the Ukraine conflict. One might think that such uncertain geopolitical circumstances would encourage more considered views, but psychological research shows that when the evidence available is ambiguous, we are more likely to react irrationally and in a biased way; and indeed use the version of the facts that best serves our interests. It is also in these circumstances that political activists and pundits can most easily grind their particular axes.

Reaction to the Ukraine conflict

The Ukrainian people's concerns for justice found a voice at the Maidan in Kiev and one would expect Western peace and antiwar groups, because of their related interests in human rights, to be speaking up for them. But there is little evidence of this.

The article by the US theologian, George Weigel in Standpoint (May 2014) does do so. He suggests that The Maidan was "a reminder of forgotten values". "The demonstrators were not there simply because of the craving for Western lifestyles, but because they wanted to reclaim their dignity as human beings and citizens. Ukraine had become a corrupt dictatorship that

was eroding democracy, enervating its economy and causing a breakdown in the rule of law", concerns about which we in the West should have an interest. He also stresses the importance of religious activities on the Maidan the theme of our chair's report on page 3.

Then unfortunately snipers began shooting down demonstrators and police in the surrounding streets. The situation became volatile and murky and it is not clear what forces were actually at play as Ukraine's president retreated the



country. But there is no doubt that Russia used the deteriorating situation as a justification to annex Crimea by military force in breach of past agreements and international law.

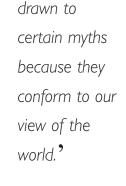
Interpretations soon followed as anti-war activists and pundits set out to identify 'goodies' and 'baddies'. By oversimplifying the Ukraine's historic tug-of-war between East and West, many become apologists for President Putin's actions. Put simply the argument was that Crimea was really a part of Russia and the aggression was reasonable if not legitimate in the circumstances. Consistent with the ideology that Western imperialism is the



root of all evil. NATO expansion was the main if not the sole cause of the conflict. Putin was being threatened militarily by the West and needed to secure his naval base in case it fell into NATO hands and also ensure that Ukraine acted as a non-NATO buffer state.

In the articles of John Rees of Stop the War Coalition and Seamus Milne of The Guardian, for example, this is the focal point. Both emphasize the importance of an informal agreement restricting NATO expansion made at the time of German reunification, but ignore the fact that Ukraine's sovereignty was guaranteed by treaty when it gave up its nuclear weapons. John Pilger's writing was as strident as ever. He rehearses the history of US aggression and interference in other countries seemingly as an excuse for whatever Putin might want to do.

The position taken by many anti-war campaigners follows a similar line with letters to the media using phrases like "Do not wind up Putin, wind up NATO", "What about the West's invasion of Iraq?" or nearer to home "What about the bombing" similar line with letters to the media using phrases like "Do not of Kosovo?" Conferences organized to discuss the issue are not neutral but take for granted that Russia's near-abroad security has been compromised by NATO/EU expansion causing a flashpoint for conflict. In the same vogue, IPB's statement puts the crisis down to Russia's bitterness towards the West.



We have a

tendency to be



A feeling of helplessness at the centre of empire

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, NAT REUSS

Helplessness. It's the overwhelming feeling when we, at the centre of Empire, are brought news from far-off places of conflict, both civil and international: helplessness towards the Syrian conflict and helplessness about events in Ukraine. There have been other feelings too — despair — at the hypocrisy of Western leaders, rightly critical of any intimidations of sovereign states, but evidently ignorant of the blood on their own hands from recent aggressions and war in Iraq and Afghanistan. It was hard not to think of John Kerry's warnings to Russia as a 'pot calling the kettle black.'

Then there are the temptations. The temptation to worry about one's own self interests in the ramping up of hostilities and threat – what about our gas supplies? What will this do to the price of energy that we are struggling to afford? We don't want to be dragged into a conflict with Russia! These are all very real worries but I can't help but think that at times of conflict such as this, we can neglect the discipline of mindfulness, prayer and certainly, in my case, action, for our brothers and sisters in Christ in the Ukraine and Russia whose lives are perched so precariously, when our own lives are seemingly so insulated.

At times like this I confess, I have nothing to offer this conflict or any conflict for that matter. As a priest in God's Church, you might think I would be someone with answers – but at times it feels like I'm just keeping the show going.

At times like this, the only thing we can do is to share stories: stories of hope that might spark our imaginations and remind us of the freedom to which we are called in Christ. Stories of our ordinary yet faithful brothers and sisters in Christ, caught up in the midst of hell and who, in faith, responded in the way of our non-violent God risking all that they have.

One such story comes from the Church and Peace Newsletter Spring edition (2014). It contains an interview with Hieromonk Melchizedeck Gordenko and monk Gabriel Kairasov from Desyatina Monastery. On the night of 20 January 2014, they stood, risking their lives on Grushevsky Street in Kiev between the police and demonstrators and were able to stop the bloodshed for hours. Dressed in vestments and carrying Icons and Crucifix, they responded to the violence without a plan or strategy. They prayed, asked for a blessing and without a goal in mind went outside and stood between those throwing rocks and those shooting bullets. Gordenko says, "...when people saw priests in front of them, standing between them and the police cordon, it was as if they had been dashed with boiling water. They calmed down almost immediately. A moment of something like a blessed reasonableness came over them." Kairasov tells it like this, "The people standing there came up to us and said, "As long as you stand here, we will not throw any stones at the police." This really inspired us all... We were able to restrain people until nightfall - only then did Molotov cocktails start flying at the police. But even in that moment, many of the demonstrators ran over to the police cordon and shouted to their comrades to cease their aggression. Some of these young fellows even climbed onto the roof of a burnt-out bus in order to pull out the protesters, thus placing themselves in the path of danger."

It is interesting that their witness not only halted the violence for a time but also led people to chance their hand in the way of grace to seek out a cessation of the spiral of violence. But even more, their witness led to a uniting of denominations and faiths under the one banner of peace in the midst of a violent world. Gordenko says, "Even a Jew came up to me in his kippah and, standing next to me, started praying. I listened to him and was amazed: he was praying Orthodox prayers with us!" Kairasov explains it this way "During those hours that we spent at the Maidan, people from all different confessions came there,

Greek-Catholics, clergy from the 'Kiev Patriarchate' and the Catholic Church; and what is the most amazing of all - Buddhists! To me a young man came up, introduced himself as Seryezha, and asked me whether we accept heretics. 'Heretics in what sense?' I asked. 'I am a Baptist', Seryezha smiled. 'Of course we accept them. Come on over!' This place was the borderline of peace, and there could be no talk of 'acceptance' or 'non-acceptance'."

It is hard not to see the presence of Christ in their midst as they followed the way of the Cross. They created a borderline for peace where previously there was no peace. The Kingdom of Heaven did indeed break open upon the earth and included people of all faiths united in the placing to one side that which would ordinarily divide and exclude each other and joining together in the risk of losing their lives together.

I've recently had the pleasure of reading Christi-anarchy:

Discovering a radical spirituality of compassion by Dave Andrews, leader of the Waiters' Union, a radical Christian community in Brisbane. I remember hearing him speak at the Greenbelt Christian Arts Festival in Cheltenham, UK, some years ago. As the title suggests, Dave is all about fostering a



Christian community of radical compassion and welcome to all. He sees the Christian faith not so much as defending the boundaries of the faith through its propositions, but rather in affirming the person of Christ and discerning His presence in our lives. In Kiev's Grushevsky Street on that January night, the person of Christ was present in the people who stood shoulder to shoulder in the midst of conflict and in the hearts of those who ceased their violence.

A tent-chapel at the Maidan



In his Standpoint article (referred to in our opening article), George Weigel argues the demonstrators' primary demand was a restoration of civic pietas: a respect for the elementary decencies that make common life among diverse peoples possible. And that concern was embodied in a striking dimension of the Maidan movement that got virtually no attention in the Western media: its religious piety. A tentchapel was built in Independence Square, and its decoration bespoke the remarkable diversity of the Maidan demonstrators: an image of Our Lady of Fatima was displayed amid Byzantine icons. Clergy of various denominations - including the three Ukrainian Orthodox jurisdictions, the Greek Catholic Church and Protestant groups – shared the stage to offer prayers at the beginning and end of each day's Maidan activities, and religious services were celebrated in the tent-chapel during the day. In a country not previously noted for its ecumenical spirit, it was

an impressive display of Christian solidarity; and the commitment of the various groups to maintain nonviolence.



At times like this, the only thing we can do is to share stories of hope.

Lots of events: remembrance and celebration

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

As I write, the world is deciding how to respond to another crisis, this time a continuing part of the Iraq story since Saddam Hussein was deposed. But this time the US and Iran have a common interest in defending Iraq and it is possible that they will become involved in some sort of combined military action. The scramble by two staunch adversaries to shore up the embattled Iraqi authority underscores how seriously the situation is in a country in danger of fragmentation as a result of the sudden advance by fighters from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Isis).

As for the Ukraine, the situation is very complicated. And again, it is ultimately about the needs of the people of the country. Those who want to see a stable, democratic Iraq should support the heroic people within the country who are still there, trying to build a new country. The US and the international community should be encouraging Iraqis to reform their own political institutions. Political parties campaigning for financial probity, citizenship and equal rights should be encouraged – not those like Nouri af-Maliki's, pursuing overtly sectarian agendas.

There is enough blame to go around for causing this conflict. The 2003 invasion led by the US certainly, but the chaos unleashed by the Syrian conflict is also important. The debate and arguments about such things that have exercised the anti-war movement since then continue to lead us nowhere. We did invade Iraq and – much more recently – we didn't intervene by taking out Assad's air force in Syria. But whatever position you want to occupy, simply criticising the other point of view seems self-indulgent.

I have little doubt, whatever the circumstances, that the antiwar movement will be preparing its usual message warning about US imperialism and oil interests. I do my best to follow developments in Iraq and Syria as reported by journalists on the spot or as analysed by regional specialists. But it is practically impossible to get a good idea of what goes on in areas 'controlled' by groups like Isis. Do they really have the capability to take over a state like Iraq? Is their intention to control a strategic slice of territory from which to launch attacks on anyone Isis doesn't like? Or is it a fully-fledged pre-2001 Afghan-style theocracy? And how does a group like Isis make decisions. This is even more complicated than what is happening in Ukraine, and is not another time to present a biased view in the face of the ambiguity.

International COs event in London

I was delighted to be among the hundreds of people who attended the Conscientious Objectors' ceremony in Tavistock Square, London, on a beautifully May 15. There have been many of these days of special remembrance since 1994 when



Sir Michael Tippett, also a CO, dedicated an inscribed stone in Tavistock Square to all of them everywhere. The final words on the inscription are "their foresight and courage give us hope".

But, this year was made particularly special due to the presence of nearly 200 relations of some 70 First World War COs. Some of those men refused for religious reasons, some because they were absolute pacifists, some for political conviction. Some were willing to do alternative service but many were not and suffered greatly as a consequence

It was a moving day filled with sunshine. A choir from a local school, Maria Fidelis, sang "The ones who said no" by our membership secretary, Sue Gilmurray which has become an anthem for this and similar occasions.

Sam Walton (Quaker Peace and Social Witness) and Christine Schweitzer (a German activist from War Resisters International) gave the main addresses. Mary Dobbing and Lord Maxton spoke about their CO fathers and grandfathers.

The most moving part of the afternoon was the procession of daughters, sons and grandchildren, all making brief statements about their WWI CO relations and laying a flower on the memorial stone.

A local event: commemorating conscientious objection to World War I in Evesham and surrounding towns

I spent the weekend 17/18 May in Evesham where I took part in CO events organised by the Evesham Quakers led by Anne Wood. On the Saturday we were in the town square with a First World War ambulance explaining why some people refused to fight. I busked for some hours using anti-war songs including Sue Gilmurray's anthem.

A special service was held at the local Friends House on the Sunday which focused on local COs and what happened to them during the war. Following a search of Cyril Pearce's database by Clive Barrett a number of local COs were selected and their stories told. A tree was planted in commemoration. Please let me know if anyone would like a copy of the service sheet as it could be a model for similar local events.

MAW's updated booklet, We will remember them

The Movement for the Abolition of War has updated its resource for parish clergy, teachers and youth leaders

charged with devising Remembrance services. With a forward by author Michael Morpurgo and cover design by distinguished cartoonist and illustrator Angela Martin, it is an excellent source of reflections, prayers, songs and readings, all suitable for use in a variety of settings.

MAW committee member and Anglican pacifist, Sue Dowell, who led the project to update the booklet, says that many people - from

WE WILL REMEMBER THEM
services, reflections,
prayers, songs and readings,
for Remembrance Sunday

With a Forement by Michael Mergungs

peace activists to retired military personnel - ask why we witness. We Will Remember Them sets out to address this concern.

The question of how and who we remember has taken on a renewed urgency as people across the country prepare to

The most moving part of the afternoon was the procession of daughters, sons and grandchildren.

commemorate the centenary of the start of WWI this coming August.

The booklet is priced at £3, plus postage. Order via the MAW website (http://www.abolishwar.org.uk) or from Sally Reynolds, I Thesiger Road, Abingdon, OX14 2DY.

Living in truth: Monsignor Tomás Halik receives the 2014 Templeton Prize

The Czech priest and philosopher Tomas Halik, who advanced religious and cultural freedoms after the Soviet invasion of his country, has been awarded this year's Templeton Prize. He came to London last month to receive the prize and gave the



audience gathered in St Martin-in-the-Fields a taste of the views that earned him the hostility of the Communist regime.

Father Halik has dedicated the £1.1 million prize to the memory of his fellow priests who died in concentration camps, prisons and uranium mines – a fate he was

fortunate to escape, having been ordained in secret.

After speaking in defence of truth when he received his doctorate at Charles University in 1972 he was banned from an academic career. Instead, he became a leading player in the 'underground university' that preserved intellectual life for 20 years in the wilderness after the Prague Spring. Those years of groundwork and counseling with liberation leaders including Vaclav Havel and Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek helped Czechoslovakia move to democracy following the 'Velvet Revolution' of 1989.

What impressed those who heard Father Halik in London was that he spoke much more forcefully than any British cleric would dare to do on such a formal occasion. Not only did he denounce Vladimir Putin's brand of imperialism, but also criticised the Russian Orthodox Church for its collaboration. He said, "In the light of the dangerous developments in Eastern Europe we must be aware of our responsibility for preserving and enhancing the great project of a united Europe. The strong political integration of Europe is the only protection for the European nations, not only against external dangers but even more so against an explosion of barbarism within, against the extreme nationalism, chauvinism and xenophobia that are once more raising their ugly heads in the countries of Europe." We should do well to remember Father Halik's warning that we may only turn the other cheek on our own behalf, not that of others. "It is necessary to protect and defend the innocent." And in defence of the truth, we must never compromise.

Songs for the Road to Peace at Iona

One of Fellowship of Reconciliation's centenary events this year was a peace-themed week in May on the island of Iona. Sue Gilmurray attended and represented APF. In addition to the British delegates, the event included American university students and Christians from Holland, Norway, and India who came for this special week.

APF's David Mumford and FoR's Denis Beaumont arranged the week and led talks, discussions and workshops on the history of the Fellowship, and on the biblical basis and the actual practice of Christian peacemaking.

All were invited to daily worship in Iona Abbey, where The Iona Community were also focusing on peace and justice. After one evening service, at which we had been encouraged to think about a particular injustice, and then in small groups to express our indignation, we left the Abbey to find ourselves in a thunderstorm – a reminder, perhaps, to do something about our feelings about the world's wrongs.

Sue took part by leading two workshops on peace hymns and

songs, featuring the Songs for the Road to Peace collection by her and Chris Idle, which APF published in 2012. Several people took the music home with them to Scotland, Holland and the USA.

Bolshie with a banjo: in memory of Pete Seeger

The great Peter Seeger died in January. His songs became universal and constantly poked the eyes of America's rulers. The civil-rights movement marched to his version of 'We shall overcome' (which was also sung in Tavistock Square at this year's International COs' Day event). When Seeger sang the

song he delivered it like an I I th commandment - both dream and statement of intent. Anti-war activists never seem to tire of 'Where have all the flowers gone?' - Billy Brag has been singing it WWI events organised by Stop the War Coalition. And Vietnam war protesters loved his



adaptation of 'Beans in my ears' with its coy attack on Lyndon Johnson.

Seeger encouraged audiences to join in. Folk songs were for the people, he maintained; the emphasis on the solo frontman was a commercial invention. He made the song the star and the singer merely a presenter.

His progressive fans admired him for standing up to the redbaiters of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He offered to play his banjo for his inquisitors and 50 odd years later, he sang Woody Guthrie's 'This land is your land' at a concert for Barack Obama's inauguration.

The singer-songwriter Rufus Wainwright, writing in *The Observer* on 2 February, said Seeger was magnificent in conversation as he was in concert. He recalled an Episcopalian minister, "trying to convince me that quick changes never brought results another of those tendentious beliefs. I said, "Well, 2,000 years is a long time to be praying to God to make things better, and after all that time, the bombs still come down and kill innocent women and children – so I'm not too sure about your slow change."

In remembrance of Tom Willis

The Revd Thomas Charles Willis, a long time member of APF and one who has served in recent years on its Governing Body, died in January aged 83. His funeral, a Requiem Mass, held in St Nicholas Church, Beverley was attended by a large congregation. He leaves Ann, his widow, and five children. Three grandsons were also present at the service and provided the musical accompaniment.

After leaving school, Tom was called up for National Service in the Army. Towards the end of his time, having thought deeply about his attitude to war, he realized that he could no longer keep quiet that he was drawn to pacifism. He told his commanding officer and was ready to accept the consequences. However, as he was so near to being demobbed, he was allowed to do so without penalty.

Tom was then ordained and devoted himself to parish work, mainly in Bridlington in a 'slum clearance' parish.

Tom did not keep his pacifism secret. It was an intrinsic part of his ministry. He took part in peace marches and bravely promoted the cause of peace. His witness was enhanced by his colourful and varied gifts. He was known as an entertainer, a magician, a story teller, a raconteur a man of humour, and hours spent on the beach - much loved by his young grandchildren. He was well known as the team leader in York diocese for the Deliverance Ministry, and gained wide recognition for this involvement - exorcism being a specialism In the healing ministry too, he could acclaim: Miracles have happened, God has worked!

We may only turn the other cheek on our own behalf, not that of others

HOPE, BALLS AND TRENCHES

Update on South Sudan

We have been following the situation in the country closely since our vice-chairperson, Sue Claydon worked there recently. Fighting broke out in South Sudan on 15 December 2013 and has resulted in thousands of deaths and over a million displaced people. Aid agencies have also been warning of a looming disaster, because fighting stopped people from planting their crops before the rains this year.

On 11 June 2014, president Salva Kiir met his former vice-president Reich Machar in Addis Ababa and agreed the deal to cease hostilities. Hailemariam Desalegn, the prime minister of Ethiopia, who hosted the negotiations said both leaders were fully committed to the deadline. This gives them 60 days to form a government of national unity and end six months of deadly clashes or face sanctions from their neighbours, negotiators said yesterday. Under the terms of the agreement both sides must allow "unhindered humanitarian access" to the people who have fled their homes.

This was the third time the two men had met since the violence erupted in Juba last year. The pair signed a ceasefire on 9 May but it was broken within hours. Their meeting involved Anglican Archbishop Daniel Deng of the Episcopal



Church of Sudan and South Sudan (centre in the photo). The latest agreement was built on the earlier agreement and implements its key components. We do hope this new initiative will be successful.

Peace balls

As the media feed on every detail of the World Cup, we are reminded what a powerful force football is and how it can be used to promote peace.

In 2011 we reported on a 'Balls for peace' initiative by APF members in Kenya involving The Revd Elijah Nyaga. At that time 30 footballs and 10 volleyballs each with a message of peace had been purchased. They are being used in conjunction with various tournaments for young people to stress the message of reconciliation and the importance of peace in local communities (see the August 2011 issue of TAP).



Sue Claydon with Francis, the Production Manager and Rose Market, the Alive and Kicking Manager in Nairobi.

The education project has been well received and further balls are being made and distributed. The initiative is now being extended to Zimbabwe involving our APF member Cloud Mabaudi. 20 footballs have been sent so far.

Orders have also been placed with Alive and Kicking, the company producing them, to use in South Sudan with youth groups there. The company is being very successful with its promotion and our order now means that it has sales to every country in Africa – South Sudan was the missing list.

Thinking of the future, if you are 'stuck' for a Christmas gift, you might consider sponsoring one for $\pounds 10$. Just write to our Treasurer and we will send you a gift card. It is a good idea for birthdays as well.

'Remember the world as well as the war'

A report by the British Council (2014)

We sometimes forget that the First World War raged from the fields of Flanders to the waters of the South Pacific, from Mozambique to the Falklands and Persia to the Baltic. The British Council has published a report (above title) to encourage people to remember the role of people around the world who were affected by it. We should search out its lessons and above all do everything in our power as individuals, voters leaders and communities to avoid another. If we forget we are more likely to repeat.

The interesting thing about the report is that it reports the results of a major survey about people's knowledge about the global aspects of the conflict. Research was carried for the British Council by YouGov in seven countries: Egypt, France, Germany, India, Russia, Turkey and the UK. It also considers historical events and analysis, and offers insights that will enable people to learn more about the global nature of the conflict. Almost a third of people in the UK consider that the involvement of different countries should be an important element of the centenary commemorations.

The report highlights that:

The First World War was a global conflict and has an important and lasting legacy;

The UK's knowledge of both these aspects of the war and its aftermath is limited;

People in the countries surveyed around the world feel that their nations are still affected by the consequences of the war and the subsequent peace settlements in a number of important ways;

The UK's role in the war and its aftermath continue to colour international perceptions of the UK;

Many people in the UK may be unaware that historical events, including those of the First World War and its aftermath might determine others' attitudes towards them today – be it in political, business or cultural relationships;

The centenary is an occasion to share a new, more sophisticated understanding of the conflict in public commemorations and education programmes.

We shall consider this issue in more detail in the next issue of TAP, focusing particularly on Africa.

A survey question: when you think about the first World War what are the first three things that come to mind? The letter size indicates the response.



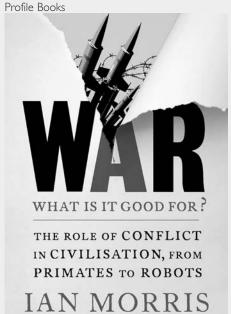
The First World War was a global conflict and has an important and lasting legacy.

Book Look

▶ RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

All three books relate to our opening article. They are concerned with the nature of war and our reaction to it.

lan Morris (2014)
War: what is it good for?



'War: what is it good for?' asks the famous song in opening article. But archaeology, history, and biology show war has been good for something. lan Morris argues that there is a paradox at the heart or our modern lives: war is the only invention that has allowed us to construct peaceful societies. Stone Age people lived in small, feuding societies and stood a one-in-five chance of dying violently. In the twentieth century, by contrast - despite the two world wars - less than one person in a hundred died violently. Without war, we would never have built the huge nation-states which now keep us safe from random acts of violence, and which have given us previously unimaginable wealth. To prove his case, he reviews the history of warfare, carrying the reader confidently from bows and arrows to ballistic missiles, and sketching in the parallel developments of social forms, from hunter-gatherer groups to the E.U. As an archaeologist, Morris takes the long view and a rigorously quantitative approach. This means that he can dismiss Hitler, the Holocaust and World War 2 as a minor blip in the real story of the 20th century - the quantum leap in living standards and life expectancy. So what if 50

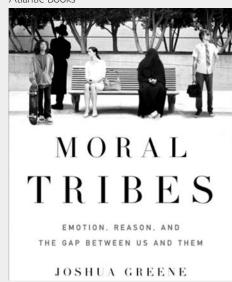
The general thrust of his arguments seem intuitively reasonable but some of his quantitative assertions don't bear too much scrutiny; as he himself concedes, the statistical evidence for the violence of early society is based on impressionist evidence and fraught with methodological difficulties.

million died? That is a tiny amount compared

to the growth in the Chinese population over

Joshua Greene (2014)

Moral tribes: emotion, reason, and the gap between us and them Atlantic Books



This book bears on the question whether humans are aggressive by nature.

Joshua Greene shows that our brains were designed for tribal life, for getting along with a select group of others (Us), and for fighting off everyone else (Then). But modern life has thrust the world's tribes into a shared space, creating conflicts of interest and clashes of values, along with unprecedented opportunities.

As the world shrinks, the moral lines that divide us become more salient and more puzzling. We fight over everything from tax codes to gay marriage to global warming, and we wonder where, it at all, we can find our common ground. A grand synthesis of neuroscience, psychology and philosophy, Moral tribes reveals the underlying causes of modern conflicts and lights the way forward. Here the human brain is revealed to be like a dual-mode camera, with point-and-shoot automatic settings as well as a manual mode. Our point-and-shoot settings are our emotions - efficient, automated programmes honed by evolution, culture and personal experience. The human brains manual mode is its capacity for deliberate reasoning, which makes our thinking flexible. Our point-and-shoot emotions make us social animals, turning Me into Us. But they also make us tribal animals, turning Us against Them. Our tribal emotions make us fight, sometimes with bombs, sometimes with words, and often for life-and-death stakes.

Dominique Moïsi

The geopolitics of emotion: how cultures of fear, humiliation, and hope are reshaping the world Polity Press

This is a fascinating book with much to say about the current conflicts such as Ukraine and Iraq. This is the first book to investigate the farreaching emotional impact of globalization. In it Dominique Moïsi argues that the geopolitics of today is influenced by a 'clash of emotions.' The West is obsessed by the fear of losing what it has gained. For Muslims and Arabs, a culture of

humiliation is quickly devolving into a culture of hatred. Asia, on the other hand, has been able to concentrate on building a better future, so it is creating a new culture of hope and, as yet, not deeply involved in international politics. Putin's Russia is placed with the Muslims and Arabs.

Although geopolitics and emotions appear to be an unlikely mix, Moïsi asserts that we need emotions to understand the world around us – including politics. According to him, globalization is based on a paradox – on one hand, we are witnessing the pervasiveness of US American culture, while, on the other hand, the countries of Asia are taking the economic lead.

This leads to what Moïsi calls asymmetric multipolarity, in which unequal actors, with different views of the world, interact. The study of emotions as one of the main factors on the global political stage is, in Moïsi's opinion, justified by the changes in the post-Cold War order which brought about an increased importance of the role of emotions in politics.

Such a surge in the weight of emotions can be partially explained by the actions of mass media, which have made the world more transparent, blurring the borders of "separate worlds". Nowadays, irrespective of their location, people



have access to a large amount of information on even the most remote corners of the world.

Moisi explains that in order to understand our changing world, we need to confront emotion. And as he makes his case, he deciphers the driving emotion behind our cultural differences and points up an important new perspective on globalization.

Reviewers are somewhat ambivalent about the book. For an experienced reader with solid background knowledge, Moïsi offers great substance for debates. He excels in putting together different pieces of the global political puzzle and creating convincing scenarios. For those without background in international relations or modern history, the book can be misleading, especially because of some crude generalizations. That is why it should be treated as medication: to be taken with care and in small doses. Only then can it bring much needed help to understanding the world of politics – or the politics of the world.

this period.

ARY OF EVENTS

LOCAL AND NATIONAL

- **4 July** The annual Independence from America demonstration at Menwith Hill. The theme this year is 'Recycle the base' as the Tour de France cycle race passes on the A59 the next day. Contact CAAB 01423 884076 for details.
- 4 August Anniversary of the day Britain entered WWI. Silent vigil to be held at noon to 2pm with messages 'War no more, war never again' on the steps of St Martin-in-the-fields, Trafalgar Square. Organised by a coalition of peace organisations.
- **6 and 9 August** The anniversaries of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- **9 August** Demonstration at AWE Aldermaston and rolling out the Wool Against Weapons scarf. www.woolagainst weapons.
- 21 September International Day of Peace. www.un.org/en/ events/peace-day.

- **9 October** Uniting for Peace 2014 annual conference 'Who rules the world?' 6.00 Committee Room 4a House of Lords. www.unitingforpeace.com. 5tg
- II October Peace History Conference organised by the Movement for the Abolition of War. Imperial War Museum (London). www.abolishwar.org.uk
- Remembrance Sunday MAW annual lecture at the Imperial War Museum to be given by Michael Morpurgo. www.abolishwar.org.
- **22 November** Fellowship of Reconciliation centenary conference in Cambridge with Rowan Williams as a keynote speaker. www.for.org.uk.
- **25 November** Who rules the world? flashpoints and power rivalries from Europe to Far East. Uniting for Peace annual conference, 6.00pm in the House of Lords. Contact Vijay Mehta: vijay:vmpeace.org.

12 to 19 October Week of Prayer for World Peace.

This year is its 40th anniversary of the organisation (APF was the driving force in setting it up). The national service will be held at the Al Khoel Foundation, Chevening Road, Queens Park, London NW6 6TN on Sunday 19 October at 2.30pm

Anyone who has memories of the WPWP over the last 40 years, we would like to hear from you. Were you at the original week or active during the early years? Anyone with thoughts about how APF should be celebrating this anniversary then please contact Sue Claydon (details below).

Money for new APF projects and the development of the organisation

The Fellowship is fortunate to have been given a substantial amount of money, and we are looking for ideas on how this can be spent most effectively. The focus of any spending will be on the promotion of Anglican pacifism within the Anglican Communion, but this can be taken fairly widely to include, for example, the education of young peacemakers and research into the preventing war. If you have any ideas or would like to discuss this further please contact the Secretary (details below).

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

Chairperson: The Revd Nat Reuss

31 Porterhouse Road, Ripley, Derbyshire DE5 3FL 0784 034 325 nathanaelreuss@gmail.com

Vice-chairperson: Mrs Sue Claydon

Bridge House, Whittlesey Road, March, Cambridgeshire, PEI5 0AH 013546 54214 sue.claydon@tesco.net.

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Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray

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01353 668495 suegilmurray@icloud.com

If you would like to join the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and are in agreement with the pledge:			
⁶ We communicant members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to renounce war and all preparation to wage war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world. ⁹			
		Then please (,/) box one in the form below.	
0	<u>ط</u>	If you are sympathetic to the view expressed in the pledge but feel unable to commit yourself to it, you may like to become an associate of the APF and receive the Fellowship's newsletter and notice of our various open events, then please (,/) box two .	
4	=	Send your completed form to the Membership Secretary:- Sue Gilmurray, 1, Wilford Drive, Ely, Cambridgeshire, CB6 1TL.	
		I am in agreement with the pledge and wish to become a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.	
0		wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.	
-		Name and designation (Revd, Dr, Mr, Mrs etc):	
	ш	please print clearly and give your Christian name first.	
0	m	Address	

Year of birth I enclose a cheque for as my first subscription (makes cheque payable to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship) Please $\sqrt{\ }$ if you are a UK-income tax payer and want your donation to be treated as a Gift Aid donation. APF can then reclaim income tax paid on the donation. Please $\sqrt{}$ if you want to make a regular monthly or annual subscription using a Standing Order I heard of APF through Signed .

Film Look

▶ RECENT FILMS REVIEWED

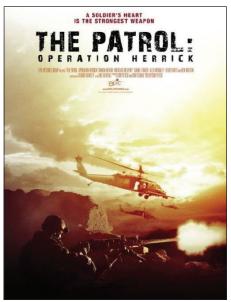
The patrol (2014)

Written and directed by Tom Petch

The Patrol' is a 2013 British action drama film set in Helmand Province, Afghanistan in 2006. It looks at the Afghan conflict through the eyes of British soldiers, and is a bold and truthful portrayal of the war that questions our continuing involvement in such conflicts.

Voted Raindance Feature Film of the Festival for 2013, the film could not be featuring on our cinema screens at a more significant time. Now that British troops have returned home from Afghanistan, the question on everyone's mind is "was it worth it?"

Portraying amazing shots as well as a brilliantly crafted script, Tom Petch brings us a snapshot of life as a soldier in Afghanistan. Having served himself in Bosnia, Croatia and in the Special Forces, his portrayal of the war brings into question the quality of organisation and the resources British soldiers worked with in Afghanistan from a starkly real perspective and from his own experiences. The film authentically portrays the life as a soldier by drawing upon Petch's knowledge of the war down to the finest detail.



In the film, a small army unit is deployed for what everyone hopes will be just three days in dangerous country, but a surprise night-time attack from the Allies – perhaps the Americans or even the British SAS – provokes new activity from the Taliban. Simply by virtue of its position, the unit finds itself open-endedly committed as part of a horribly dangerous and exposed frontline mission unfortunately named Operation learns.

The men become increasingly demoralised and insubordinate. Petch cleverly shows that imposing order is becoming less and less possible: the men's fear of appearing cowardly is balanced by their officers' fear of the loss of face involved in needing to invoke a higher disciplinary authority.

Emperor (2013) Directed by Peter Webber



The film is inspired by true events and concerns the drama about a US investigation into Emperor Hirohito's part in Japan's Second World War campaign. General Bonner Fellers, reporting to Douglas MacArthur, is the man tasked with the carrying out the investigation, the task of overseeing one of the most crucial post-war American military investigations. In a mere 10 days, he must determine if Emperor Hirohito should be arrested and tried for instigating the war against the US and overseeing unspeakable atrocities - or if he will be allowed to continue his rule. The latter would send the message to the Japanese people that the post-war American mission is not to occupy and control, but to facilitate the rebuilding of the nation and the recovery of its people.

He is form between his military duties and his desire to find an exchange student who captured his heart before the war. Whether Fellers is interviewing various Japanese officials during his investigation or reflecting on his romance with the niece (the lovely Eriko Hatsune) of a Japanese general, we're constantly reminded of the vast differences between the American and Japanese cultures.

As 'Emperor' tells it, MacArthur will make his decision almost solely on the basis of Fellers' report. (The general spends much of his time posing for dramatic photos and working the press as he eyes a post-military run for president.) This is not a film about retro-guilt. It is portrayed as a just and right war for the Allied Forces, and the good guys won. But 'Emperor'' makes it clear this was a devastating war for both sides, with repercussions far beyond 1945.

The monuments men (2014) Directed by George Clooney

Based on the true story of the greatest treasure hunt in history, the film is an action drama focusing on an unlikely World War II platoon, tasked by FDR with going into Germany to rescue artistic masterpieces from Nazi thieves and returning them to their rightful owners. It would be an impossible mission: with the art trapped behind enemy lines, and with the German army under orders to destroy everything as the Reich fell, how could these guys - seven museum directors, curators, and art historians, all more familiar with Michelangelo than the MI rifle possibly hope to succeed? But as the Monuments Men, as they were called, found themselves in a race against time to avoid the destruction of 1000 years of culture, they would risk their lives to protect and defend some of humankind's greatest achievements.

Look at the famous faces adorning the posters for this second world war caper and it is hard to figure out whether they're meant to be stonyfaced or ever-so-slightly smirking. The same is true of the film, which wobbles uneasily between twinkly smiles and schmaltzy frowns, struggling to decide just how seriously to take its subject matter. The premise is promising: a ragtag team of misfits from Europe and America, united by a shared love of art, sent into the field of battle to stop the Nazis plundering and/or destroying the fruits of human culture — paintings, books, sculptures, icons etc.

The message is clear – fight people and they fight back; destroy their culture and they cease to exist – and neither Clooney nor co-writer Grant Heslov is afraid to say this out loud, ensuring that no one misses the point. In 'The Monuments Men', words speak louder than action.



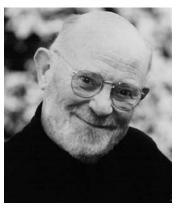
CANON PAUL OESTREICHER'S LETTER FOR EASTER 2014

Paul is an APF counsellor.

Dear friends,

An Easter letter has not been a feature of my life even though Good Friday and its truly remarkable sequel have long been at the heart of my spiritual life. That centres not on the shame and glory of humanity in general but on a single human being on whom some of us try to model our life. As thousands suffer and die every day and new life is born, often with scant hope of survival, it is each life and each death that is of inestimable value. That is why I have chosen to write today about one man who has accepted great suffering and continues to do so in the hope that all people might live in peace. No more than Jesus, whom he has chosen to follow, does he lay claim to greatness. He too was born into a Jewish family. He too put his conscience before his safety. He remains an outcast among his own people. His name – I expect you may know it already - is Mordecai Vanunu. A newspaper, which, over the past year, has shown that it too is prepared to take risks for the sake of conscience, has chosen Easter to re-tell his story. Read it on this link to The Guardian

http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/20/israel-mordechai-vanunu-hero-edward-snowden



Many years have passed since I joined a group of ordinary citizens, albeit some of us well known, who went to Israel to appeal for Vanunu's release from prison. Our concern was for one human being. We had no political agenda other than a plea for compassion. We were received politely by the President of Israel. Our plea was heard and resolutely rejected. Many others have done the same. An American family has legally adopted him as their son. Few people remain sane after eleven years in solitary confinement, a breach of international law, and seven further years behind bars. He has remained steadfast in his convictions. He is now imprisoned in Israel, a

state whose citizenship he has renounced, yet which will not allow him to leave.

What purpose is served in my writing this letter to my friends? Perhaps it is no more than an expression of my solidarity with one human being that I want to share. If you pray, that is one way, not the only way, of expressing your solidarity. Perhaps you will send this letter to others. What will it achieve? God knows. Perhaps that's the wrong question. What is not in question is that what Vanunu wanted to achieve, to warn the world of the danger of nuclear weapons, is as relevant now as it has been since 1945. Only very recently did Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, remind the world that the continuing presence of nuclear weapons leaves the world on a dangerous yet largely unacknowledged precipice.

In Britain the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, of which I remain a Vice-President, working from its offices in Mordecai Vanunu House, goes on tirelessly appealing for the United Kingdom to take seriously its lip service to non-proliferation and therefore to abandon its Trident Missile System. To join that campaign is one way of honouring a courageous whistle-blower. So, raise your voice for Mordecai Vanunu at every opportunity. Who knows, maybe even Pope Francis will when he visits Israel and Palestine next week.

Barbara, a long time peace campaigner who went to prison in the cause, as I have not, joins me in this Easter greeting, written in New Zealand, the only country that has explicitly rejected nuclear weapons on its soil or in its territorial waters.

With love Paul



Peace witness at the gates of Lakenheath Airbase (2005)

In remembrance of Bishop Colin Scott, APF chair and counsellor

Colin read natural sciences at Queens' College, Cambridge before theological training at Ridley Hall. He was made deacon in 1958 in Southwark and after serving two curacies, became Vicar of St James, Kennington. His career developed in London and he represented Southwark on the Genera Synod, and was a much respected member of the panel of chairmen of that body. Canon Scott of Southwark was renowned within General Synod circles.

In 1984, he was consecrated Suffragen Bishop of Hulme. In the diocese, Colin chaired the Board for Church and Society. He was closely involved with the diocesan link with Lahore in Pakistan which he visited. After his retirement, he became and assistant bishop in the diocese of Leicester and provided much support for the clergy and their families. He and his wife, Margaret became highly valued and loved members of the congregation and community of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. At this time he became more publicly engaged in the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, a cause dear to his heart.

He had not undertaken National Service in the armed forces as a young man, but had worked in farming, and when set in the middle of the great cities of Manchester and Salford, he enjoyed alluding with a twinkle in his eye to his detailed knowledge of sheep and or rural customs.

His son Mike, in his tribute at Colin's funeral, said that from his youth, Colin had been a confirmed pacifist. First evidence of this was at school when he refused to join the cadets and soon after, aged 17 when he had to argue his case for peace in front of a judge and tribunal in order to be successfully accepted as a conscientious objector. And this was a continuous theme for him, leading to his role in later life as chair of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and then one of its counsellors. A good example of how his views were deeply held and utterly consistent all through his life. Colin joined APF in 1988.

On the well above his desk in his study hung a powerful and moving painting of the incomplete triptych by the German artist, Johannes Koelz entitled 'Thou should not kill'. It was painted secretly between 1930-37 and openly questioned the slaughter of World War I and continuing belligerence (see The Art of Peace on page 12).

on a dangerous yet largely unacknowledged precipice.

• The continuing

presence of

nuclear weapons

leaves the world

Given all this, it is extraordinary that the Russian president has bedazzled so many observers in the anti-war movement.



Inconvenient truths and moral non-equivalences seem to be forgotten in all this. For example James Bloodworth (4 May *The Independent*) pointed out that it was not the West that invaded and occupied Iraq. It was the George Bush administration aided and abetted by Tony Blair, and both left office years ago. That's the beauty of democracy: you can depose the leaders who behave badly. It not the case in Russia, where Putin has effectively stolen the people's right to depose of him via the ballot box. Furthermore, Ukraine, as a sovereign state, has every right to apply to join whatever international associations it wishes. If it was moving into the west's orbit, it was not doing so down the barrel of a gun.

Emotion, economic theft and the nature of the Russian regime

IPB is probably right when it says Russia's is bitter because it sees the West as an obstacle to regaining its former status as a powerful nation. This view chimes well with a perceptive analysis by Dominique Moisi in *The geopolitics of emotion (2009)* (reviewed on page 7). But bitterness alone should not be overstated when Russian aggression could well be due to other things.

For example, could Putin's actions be more about money than ideology, and all the talk of Russia's lost empire a smokescreen for this. Oliver Bullough (The Guardian, 20 May 2014) suggests that the Ukraine is not a struggle between East and West. "Moscow", he says "is simply trying to preserve a crooked regime against the wishes of Ukrainians because the old ways made it more money." In this context the need to control Ukraine might be related to the role Putin would like it to play in the establishment of his much-vaunted Eurasian economic block.

To draw any conclusion about his motives would require more knowledge about the character and aims of the man and his relationship with his associates. At the moment this is a grey area and future historians will have to answer the question of who was responsible for the planned moves that brought the president to power – to the point where he now exercises that transparent form of arbitrary rule, which the Russian people know as bespredel (literally – "without limits").

A number of books published in the last five years have attempted to fathom this and some draw disturbing conclusions. Anna Arutunyan in *The Putin mystique: inside Russia's power cult* (2014) suggests that the power structure is straight out of the Middle Ages, where the sovereign is perceived as both divine and demonic. Masha Green in *The man without a face* (2012) says that a director of the secret police was a perfect choice as president: "a 'faceless' creature' whom Yeltsin and his cronies thought they could mold in their own image.

Leaving aside his inscrutability, Putin's record while in power is shocking. He has chosen not to continue the liberalization of Russia but to destroy the foundations of a constitutional society built on the admittedly frail, but nonetheless, democratic values of a market economy. He is also strangling free speech replacing it with black propaganda. Tim Snyder in New Republic (11 May 2014) discusses the history of Ukraine and points out that Putin's propaganda machine seeks to draw Europeans back to the struggle against Hitler's Germany by establishing a new myth that the revolution in Kiev was a Nazi coup. The results of the 25 May presidential election expose this lie since Svoboda and Right Sector, the far-right parties, received less than two percent of the votes between them. Who will tell the Russian people this?

Then there is the militarization of the Russian economy; the beginning of a new arms race; and increase in the smuggling and sale of Russian weapons to governments hostile to the developed nations of the world.

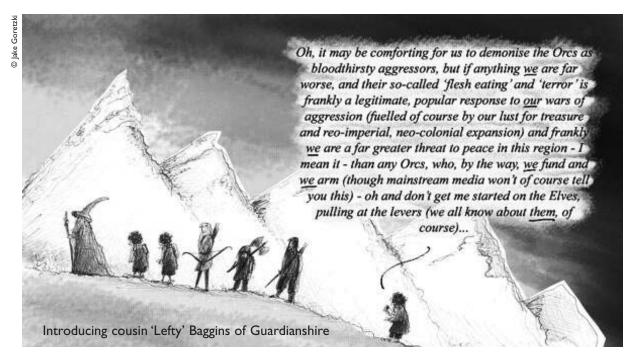
Given all this, it is extraordinary that the Russian president has bedazzled so many observers in the anti-war movement who excuse his action as the unfortunate victim of Western aggression. For those really concerned about the prevention of war, Putin's refusal to play by conventional global rules should shake any complacency, as it raises profound questions about what might happen next.

Concluding remarks

The myths and innate prejudices of the anti-war movement and associated leftist pundits are leading to them to make lazy and biased judgements about the Ukraine conflict rather than facing up to its complexities and ambiguity. At a time like this it is better to admit to a lack of knowledge and focus on suggesting positive action consistent with the peace agenda. Taking sides in this way after the event is unhelpful, particularly when expressed prejudices can so easily become new myths.

when expressed prejudices can so easily become new myths. The issue to be grasped is that multilateral institutions are slow and lumbering in their response to crises like that in Ukraine and increasingly ineffective. Regardless of what one thinks about the current global disorder, it is clearly here to stay; and so the challenge is to make it work as well as possible. Besides revitalising existing institutions, diplomats and other interested parties need to turn to other complementary frameworks for collective action, including ad hoc coalitions of the willing and informal codes of conduct. This notion of good enough global governance was discussed by Stewart Patrick in the January/ February 2014 issue of Foreign Affairs.

The anti-war movement could have valuable role here if it were to shake off its prejudices and harness public opinion.



Dakh Daughters



Some Ukrainian musicians have responded to their countries unrest, others have stayed silent. When the government of President Victor Yanukovich was deposed, there was an initial wave of euphoria, which swiftly dissipated as Russian separatists made their presence felt, as Crimea was lost, as lives were lost. But among the original heroes of the Maidan Revolution in central Kiev were Dakh Daughters. They were in among the revolutionaries, singing at the barricades and on hastily erected stages. Those who were there remember a chaotic atmosphere of creativity at Maidan, with performance art pieces acting almost as mirrors to the police.

Dakh Daughters are less Spice Girls, says their 'artistic director' Vlad Troitsky, 'more Pussy Riot – with good music''. They are genuinely original – mixing classical minimalism with passionate Ukrainian folk and a touch of 'freak cabaret', delivered with punk energy.

As far as lyrics go, they also have an original approach, essentially sampling words from the most inspiring and relevant places they know. One of their 'hits' (they have yet to release a record) is a version of Shakespeare's Sonnet 35, reworked as 'The Rose of Donbass (where armed separatists barred people from voting in the national elections on 25 May.).

The band first played at EuroMaidan when there was no stage yet, on Nov. 28, near the Stella independence statue on Kyiv's Maidan Nezalezhnosti. From then on, the musicians say their motto during the protests was "do what you can where you are with what you have." All seven worked as volunteers at information centers, helping in the kitchen, bringing tires or medicine to the front lines and singing, of course.

'Thou shall not kill'

We made reference to Johannes Matthaeus Koelz's triptych, 'Thou shall not kill' in the obituary to our chairperson and counsellor, Bishop Colin Scott. He had a reproduction on the wall in his study for many years. (See page 10)



Thou Shalt Not Kill' was painted between 1930-37, by German artist Johannes Matthaeus Koelz. As Adolf Hitler came to power in Nazi Germany very few dared to stand up to him. But Koelz did. He secretly painted a giant anti-war triptych which would almost certainly have led to his imprisonment, even his execution had it been seen by the Gestapo. He was an

Anglican PEACEMAKER

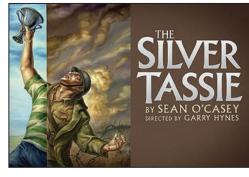
established artist and Hitler admired his work and asked him to paint his portrait. Koelz refused, was arrested and escaped with just one fragment of his masterpiece, which eventually ended its journey at New Walk Museum & Art Gallery, Leicester: The rest of the painting was cut into around twenty pieces and handed to friends and family for safekeeping. Now 75 years later Koelz's daughter Ava and New Walk Museum & Art Gallery are working together to try to find the missing pieces of Koelz's giant jigsaw. She has tracked down six, four of which she presented to the City Museums Service in 1998 where they have been fitted into a print of the original.

It was a devastating and passionate anti-war work which took seven years to complete. A grotesque crucified Christ figure in a gas mask and military helmet dominates the central panel, flanked by uniformed corpses, one pinioned with a bayonet, its guts spilling out.

The 'Silver Tassie' by Sean O'Casey

In many ways, this is a weird drama about the horrors of the First World War that was turned down when it was sent to the Abbey Theatre Dublin in 1928 (by the artistic director, WB Yeates). In this propulsive and acute production by Howard Davies's, it proves to be a marvellous one. Its mix of music hall, fantasy and song predated Oh! What a lovely war by

several decades. The first of its four acts suckers you with something conventional. We are in the Dublin tenement of the Heegans, where handsome young Harry —



three times winner of a cup, the Silver Tassie for football — is about to fight in France alongside other local men. It's a gabby rambling scene-setter. Then: boom! Shockingly loud gunfire. The walls of the set slide away to reveal a bombed-out ruin. A soldier sings ominously about a 'great army' becoming 'a valley of dry bones'. We get more explosions, harmony singing, vaudeville mixed with versifying, Church language, and a poetical anger at God. It's hard to fathom, yet transfixing.

The second half merges that mordant expressionism with the earlier naturalism. The men end up injured in the same hospital ward, then meet up at a football dance. The set uses the full depth of the stage to offer a sense of life from which they now feel excluded: a wheelchair-bound Harry rages impotently in the final act while behind a wall Dubliners dance and a balloon floats.

Much else has been transformed by the War. Susie has renounced religion for passion, while Jessie proves to be the type of girl repulsed by the crippled.

The final act shows Harry at a football club celebration, mocked by the trophy that had represented the peak of a life that will never be the same again.

It is on at the Lyttlelton, London SEI until 3 July.

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