

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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Our last issue focused on the Ukraine conflict and posed questions about how the facts surrounding it are being interpreted by the anti-war movement and used in campaigning.

This, our annual report issue, takes a broader view of the global scene examining particularly the role of the West in the new world order and the effectiveness of the UN. Reference is made to the 2014 international conference of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (CCADD) where some of these issues were discussed.

Our opening article examines the illusion that history is on the side of the West, and its implications for the anti-war movement. There is also some follow up on the Ukraine conflict after reader comment.

We also consider the US-led coalition's response to the dramatic rise and military success of Islamic State (IS). This has grave implications for the Middle East and confronts some of the underlying principles of pacifism and the Just War. In this context, our chair, Nat Reuss shares some thoughts on how we should view the recent battle in Gaza.

We continue our discussion of WWI, but in this issue from the global perspective.

The book and film pages follow these various concerns.

Tony Kempster

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'Standing in the breach' by Jackson Browne

So many lives in poverty while others live as kings
Though some may find peace
In the acceptance of what living brings
I will never understand however they've prepared
How one life may be struck down and another life
be spared

You don't know why it's such a far cry
From the world this world could be
You don't know why but you still try
For the world you wish to see
You don't know how it will happen now
After all that's come undone
But you know the change the world needs now
Is there in everyone

The unpaid debts of history
The open wounds of time
The laws of human nature tugging from behind

I want to think the earth can heal
And that people still might learn
How to meet the world's true challenges
And that the course we're on could turn
And though the earth may tremble and the
oceans pitch and rise
We will all assemble and we will lift our eyes
To the tasks that lie before us
And the power our prayers beseech
And cast our souls into the heavens, standing in
the breach

And you know the world you're waiting for may
not come
No it may not come
But you know the change the world needs now
Is there in everyone

Jackson Browne is a prolific singer-songwriter who has recorded many protest songs. In 1979 he joined several musicians to found the anti-nuclear organization Musicians for Safe Energy. He is best known for the 1986 album, 'Lives in the balance', an explicit condemnation of US-backed wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala.

The above is the title song from his latest CD released this year. The introspective literate lyrics are a call to action although they end with the comprehension that the world we are waiting [working] for may not come.



IS HISTORY ON THE SIDE OF THE WEST?

This article is informed by discussions at the 2014 CCADD international conference 'Building peace in a troubled world' held in Paris in September (see page 5 for details).

An unprecedented era of crisis

The global scene is changing fast, and many of the threats and disorders that once seemed distant have become immediate concerns, and frustratingly difficult to deal with. Syria, Iraq, Ukraine, Gaza, South Sudan, Central African Republic, Ebola, global warming - the list is daunting.

The UN, charged to lead and co-ordinate the response to such threats, is struggling and the nadir in relations between Russia and the West has seeped into Security Council discussions blighting its work on a number of fronts. The secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, summed up the mood of foreboding hanging over the UN headquarters in his opening speech to the UN annual general assembly in September.

One exception to the confrontational climate has been the fight against Ebola, and appropriate international action is now underway albeit late in starting. The UN is also trying to establish an effective global response to climate change - but with considerably less success because commitment to proposals are being frustrated especially by Russia and China.

The task of building a political and military coalition against the Islamic State (IS) has taken place outside the framework of the UN and hindered because the Security Council is unable to address

‘History is a succession of cycles and contingencies and lacks any overall direction.’

‘There are no simple solutions to the present crises.’

Syria's role in the regional conflict because of the Russian veto. The coalition's ability to manoeuvre is seriously compromised by this failure.

There is also increasing pessimism about a comprehensive nuclear deal between Iran and the West following what seemed like a breakthrough. Trita Parsi, head of the National Iranian American Council told *Foreign Policy* magazine: "Simply put, Iran can afford to say no to a deal that doesn't meet its bottom line."

The new world order and the liberal delusion

A fundamental question, asked at the CCADD conference was how the West should protect itself and advance its values of liberal democracy; and, perhaps more so, promote the principle of a rule-governed world in these times of crisis.

A significant complication here is the prevailing view by many politicians that history is on the side of the West. John Gray (*Prospect*, October 2014) refers to this as the 'liberal delusion'. He writes:

"For today's western politicians, who are focused on the present, the collapse of communism was a victory for values – freedom, democracy and human rights – that have universal appeal and near-unstoppable momentum. When they make such assertions, these leaders do not see themselves as invoking any disputable theory or philosophy. The same is true for many advocates of human rights and supporters of democratic revolutions such as the Arab Spring. They are articulating what has become common sense of the age, a set of intellectual reflexes and assumptions they have never thought to question."

Implicit in this is the belief that tyranny and empire are relics of the past, ethnic nationalism is fading away and the rise of militant religion as a factor in politics and war is a temporary aberration. This view has informed grandiose schemes of regime change, a type of democratic evangelism, with a legacy of failed states. It also shapes western policies towards Russia's invasion of Ukraine and attitudes towards the rise of China.

These beliefs and the financial crisis have left the West blind to developments in Russia. The system remains impenetrably corrupt, gay people and some religious minorities are suffering persecution, while opponents of the regime face severe repression. Nevertheless, by securing a semblance of order in the country and being more self-assertive in its relations with the West, Putin enjoys greater legitimacy and voter support than any recent Russian ruler (Brian Cooper, commenting on the opening article in the last TAP, says more about this on page 11).

Putin is not promoting any universal ideology or model of society but attempting something that, in terms of liberal consensus, is unthinkable – reasserting the claims of ethnicity and empire. The West has yet to face the prospect that it is going to have to live with an authoritarian Russia indefinitely. This raises major security issues for EU and NATO.

Another trouble with the belief that liberalism will succeed is that it is regularly exposed to unpleasant surprises as when the Arab Spring collapsed to be replaced by Islamist versions of illiberal democracy and failed states. This was to some extent predictable since European history clearly shows that political changes of this magnitude do not occur that quickly.

China's emergence as a great power is also a major challenge to the liberal view. In a generation, China has achieved the largest continuing economic expansion in history. Certainly stability cannot be taken for granted and China will be particularly vulnerable to economic blowback, as growth slows. At present local protests are often followed by compromise

Incidentally this is not the view of Francis Fukuyama (*The end of history and the last man* (1992)). Recent developments have not shaken his view that humanity has reached its ideological endpoint with liberal democracy. What has changed he says in his new book, *Political order and political decay* (2014) is that he now accepts just how hard it is to make liberal democracy work.

and concessions, but in the event of more widespread and threatening unrest, repression is more likely than capitulation. No observer can really believe that the Chinese president, Xi Jinping will give in to the current demonstrations in Hong Kong – he is a hardline leader who is rowing backwards on political reform. Nor can Hong Kong look overseas to its previous bosses, despite old promises.

Thus history is a succession of cycles and contingencies and lacks any overall direction. In his new book (see Book Look on page 8), Henry Kissinger says "I see no sign that we are moving towards a world order in my definition of it – a system which is accepted by the majority of key participants". On the other hand he refuses to relinquish the belief that the proper goal of American foreign policy is to get closer to that destination.

Watching the excellent BBC television series of 'Long shadow' by David Reynolds, it is interesting to see the echoes between the debates of the 1930 and today. The chief similarity with the



1930s is the ever-increasing distance between our liberal ideal of international affairs and the zero-sum brutalism that begins to solidify when that international order crumbles. During the 1930s and particularly at the time of the Spanish civil war, British leaders came to the reluctant conclusion that force had a crucial role to play in preserving international order:

How should the western anti-war movement respond to this increasingly disordered world?

We could continue to pillory US-led imperialism for the present state of the world, as many in the anti-war movement are in the habit of doing. But this is an ideological fixation and not constructive at a time when things are changing so fast. The world's policeman under president Obama's leadership is tending to retreat into isolationism, having grown weary of self-imposed responsibilities and burdens not in its immediate interests. European countries are equally unenthusiastic about military involvement in the Middle East and Africa and only have resources for token commitments. Indeed, one might say that the West generally is moving in the direction of our demands, even to the extent of making significant cuts in military spending.

But we must understand that all of these developments point to a more risky global political scene. The US – protected by two oceans – will be relatively shielded from the new risks as other countries flex their muscles. It will be in other parts of the world where the new security environment is put to the test.

There are no simple solutions to the present crises. Our best approach is to campaign on selected issues where there is some prospect of success, while encouraging nations of good will – and democratic nations in particular – to redouble their efforts to work together by strengthening multilateral organisations in an attempt to dampen the flames of the conflicts. We should also shame the countries doing nothing constructive or obstructing attempts to create peace.

We should speak out and encourage the international community to point up early signs of trouble and respond quickly. The retiring UN high commissioner for human rights, Navi Pillay, has been particularly forthright on the Syria conflict. Human rights violations were, she argued, a powerful indicator of trouble to come, and such violations could have been

Gaza, an eternal conflict zone?

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, NAT REUSS

In 2006 John Humphries, ('Today' on Radio 4) interviewed three leading religious leaders in what was an extremely candid series centred on his unfulfilled desire to believe in God. The leaders interviewed were Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams, Muslim academic and author Tariq Ramadan and Sir Jonathan Sacks the Chief Rabbi.

Each man had 30 minutes to convert him to their faith. The exchange with Sacks was particularly compelling, moving from the theme of proselytism to Humphries' challenge that "He (God) let the Holocaust happen." Sacks' response gives much needed illumination at this present time of many world conflicts.

"I am sometimes asked where was God in Auschwitz ...And I answer as follows: God was in Auschwitz in the command 'thou shalt not murder', in the words 'you shall not oppress the stranger', in the words 'your brother's blood cries to me from the ground'. God was saying those things to the German people and they didn't listen. I cannot let human beings off the hook by blaming things on God; if I do then I'm betraying the mission that he sent me and sent all of us. We cannot escape responsibility; Judaism is God's call to responsibility."

The underlying misconception revealed in this question, is an erroneous view of God. In Humphries' scheme God allows suffering to happen. God is all powerful and yet unmoved: an absent puppet master if you like and a pernicious one at that, failing to come to the rescue of His own when faced with utter evil.

Sadly, it's not an uncommon refrain when faced with the perplexity of historic evil as well as mounting calamities and horrors in the present – "Where is God?" "Why does God allow this to happen?" "Why doesn't God do something?" The question reveals an interventionist view of the divine: God can step in and help sort out the mess we find ourselves in. Regrettably, this view is a false one: an interventionist God would deny us our freedom to make decisions and to act in right or wrong ways. As Sacks rightly points out we have been given the gift of responsibility, a call not solely limited to Judaism. Conflict shouldn't be something we blame on God, when we do so we remove responsibility from ourselves, fail to learn lessons and history repeats. By looking at the root causes of conflict, we see it as not something ordained or permitted by God withholding his power as was presumed by Humphries, nor can we fall for the common, yet not unrelated myth, that religion causes all war. In the current crisis in Gaza and in Iraq and the Ukraine, we see the grab and control over resources to the detriment of indigenous populations. It's the same old imperial mindset but this time dressed up in a garment of self defence or a false humanitarian and libertarian concern to keep the voting public at home in obedience.

One of history's most remarkable travesty is the continuing obfuscation of the non-violent ethic central to the Christian faith and the co-option of it's adherents to various imperial ambitions of this or that nation state, thereby denying the faith's prophetic gift to the world.

The life and words of Jesus that most of us know so well have shown us the way. God is not absent or silent therefore. God is not irresponsible or unmoved. God has shown us the way in speech and action: it is *our* responsibility to listen and to act rightly. Conflict then is first and foremost a refusal to listen to the words of God.

Today we are in the midst of a number of atrocities, from Ferguson to Syria, Iraq to Gaza, Ukraine to South Sudan. It is easy, as I described in my previous article to feel completely helpless in the face of these horrors. Perhaps that is the starting point in our understanding for right action. To understand that we are, as individuals, helpless and in need of God and communities to help us see clearly through the myths and to act rightly.

In relation to Israel, Gaza and the West Bank, the system of control that maintains an occupation of another people, increasingly taking their land can appear to be a far off event impossible for the majority of us to influence: and yet influence it we do through our silence.

The bombing of Gaza in 2014 resulting in the deaths of over 2,000 with over 10,000 injured was an incursion that, I hope, will change the way the world looks at this particular conflict. With the help of social media including Twitter, many Palestinians were able to communicate directly to the rest of the world, telling further the story of the disproportionate bombing of their occupied land. Many Jews are bravely critical of Israel's occupation including Gideon Levy and Avi Schlaim. Others, including many Holocaust survivors/descendants and the celebrated author Naomi Wolf described the bombing as genocide – as an occupying force in violation of international law, it is difficult to see this bombing as anything else.

So what can contribute to this? First we must listen to the voice of God. It is sometimes difficult to find Christian leaders bold enough to speak on this issue. One who continues to buck this trend is Desmond Tutu. He bravely wrote an open letter in Haaretz on August 14 entitled, 'My plea to the people of Israel: liberate yourselves by liberating Palestine'. Tutu, using his experience from the battle against apartheid, argues for a boycott of corporations which profit from the occupation through the Avaaz campaign. If you haven't joined the 1.7M people who have signed this petition, I would like to encourage you to log on to avaaz.org and do so now.

But a corporate boycott is not enough because Israel produces little and those profiting from the Occupation are small in number – there must be a divestment from American consumer goods and the boycott of American cultural and sporting events – Israel's largest supporter and supplier of its vast military, the vehicle for Israel's expansionist policy.

What has this to do with the word of God? I have written previously for TAP on the theme of Revelation and it's critique of Empire – in its social economic context – the Roman Empire. It would be easy to dismiss the Book of Revelation due to its misappropriation to justify unquestioning support for Israel, but Rev. 18 offers the clearest clarion call and a new vision to a dwindling Church anxiously hanging onto its own imperial posture.

"...After this I saw another angel coming down from heaven, having great authority; and the earth was made bright with his splendor. He called out with a mighty voice,"

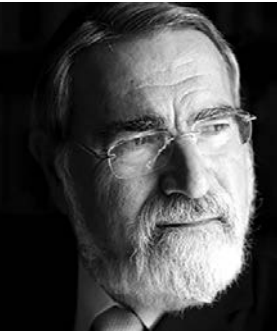
"Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great! For all the nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth have grown rich from the power of her luxury."

*Then I heard another voice from heaven saying,
Come out of her, my people.*

How might we as individuals and as communities begin to come out of empire: to unlearn our consumerist ways that have destroyed the environment and led to climate change. How might we protest through our choices and our voices against the prevailing system that supports the occupation and murder of another people? How – after the killing of 2,000 Gazans in 2014 and in obedience to the word of God that calls us out of empire – how will you act so that they – and so that we – shall all be set free?

Note:

Due to family circumstances I have the excitement of relocating to Australia. This naturally means that I am unable to go on fulfilling my duties as chair of APF, although I have agreed, having been asked by our vice-chair, to continue until another chair is found. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the officers for their help and guidance during my time as chair and I look forward to supporting APF in any way I can in the future, in what I feel is one of the most important and prophetic fellowships in the Anglican Communion.



'Conflict is first and foremost a refusal to listen to the words of God.'

Discordant thoughts and difficult decisions

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

"Just as when two clashing musical notes played together force a piece music forward, so discord in our thoughts, ideas and values compels us to think, re-evaluate and criticise. In such situations, consistency can be the playground of dull minds."

Yuval Noah Harari (2014).
Homo sapiens: a brief history of humankind.

Defeating Islamic State

This is an unprecedented challenge. The terrorist group is responsible for widespread suffering in Syria and Iraq and carrying out atrocities as part of its rampage across the countries. It is destabilising the region and its global impact is growing. It is hard to believe the terrorists would be open to negotiation while they are on a roll, and the Iraqi government has asked for military assistance to deal with them. The British government has joined the widely based US coalition and is now making a small contribution to the co-ordinated attacks on IS in Iraq (other countries are involved in Syria). The attacks appear to be precisely targeted to minimise civilian casualties. The immediate aim is to contain and weaken IS so that Iraqi and other local military forces can eventually deal with the insurrection and prevent further attacks. Nobody doubts that a long and concerted effort will be needed to finally defeat IS.

I have been reflecting on these events and the position taken by the various factions and observers. This is obviously a very complex state of affairs and holds much uncertainty about the repercussions of intervention. I understand that these are serious considerations for those who stand against military action but do not find them as persuasive. We are concerned here with a moral imperative to respond to a severe humanitarian crisis, as well as protecting national interests. I can even understand to some extent how the Archbishop of Canterbury has reached the conclusion that this is a 'Just War'. Peace movement responses so far have been predictable. Stop the War Coalition (StWC), now the most influential anti-war body in Britain and the lead organiser of London demonstrations against the bombing, is running true to form. Military intervention will, as happened in the 2003 Iraq war, kill innocents, destroy infrastructure and fragment societies and thus exacerbate the situation. The statement by its leaders and high profile supporters (*The Guardian* letters of 24 September 2014) is a flat rejection of the bombing and makes no suggestion for alternative action.

This is understandable given StWC's anti-US, anti-imperial ideology but the circumstances and limited action currently being undertaken is completely different from the 2003 invasion of Iraq. It is legal and not an all-out attack to defeat the army of a sovereign government. Far from it, President Obama has been reluctant to use military force; he has ruled out combat troops and is acting with caution. The UK's involvement is limited to air strikes, anything beyond this requiring further government agreement.

The few statements made so far by other peace organization are more nuanced and focus on non-violent alternatives. A letter by national religious groups, academics and ministers in the US (published in *National Catholic Reporter* on 27 August) says that air strikes are not the answer to creating a just peace in Iraq. "We believe that the way to address the crisis is through long-term investments in supporting inclusive government and diplomacy, non-violent resistance, sustainable development and community-level peace and reconciliation processes." A letter by Quakers in Britain to the Prime Minister stresses that diplomatic channels must be used at all times, but especially when considering violence and war, particularly through the good offices of the UN. It draws attention to the

importance of multi-faith and multi-cultural peacemaking and asks Parliament to discuss how these might be used most effectively (www.quaker.org.uk/news/news-release-quakers-call-military-restraint-25-sept-2014).



Such initiatives are important and we should endorse them, but they are unlikely to be effective in dealing with the immediate crisis and stop IS in its tracks. So I find myself unable to condemn the limited air attacks being carried out at the moment in Iraq. Further, I am not even convinced that this should be considered a war in the classical sense of the word. To my mind this is a policing action against a genocidal cult with access to powerful weapons. It is the nature of this conflict and not the type of weaponry employed that makes this 'non-war'. This is a personal view and I do not speak here for APF. Some members may have quite different views and I would like to hear them. A discussion on these grey issues would be most welcome.

'Disobedient objects' at the Victoria and Albert Museum

For some years, APF has been supportive of the textile displays curated by Roberta Bacic. Sue Gilmurray and I have assisted in a number of ways with exhibitions and Sue has even written a song entitled 'The women sew'. Roberta's excellent work has often been reported in TAP.

I am delighted, therefore to report that Roberta, who is Chilean, has four art pieces displayed in this highly successful exhibition currently at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Entitled 'Disobedient objects' this shows a stimulating selection of the physical, spatial and graphic inventions generated by dissent. Some are practical, such as water bottles repurposed as face masks protecting against tear gas, and lock-on devices, the contrivance of chains and metal tubes with which people attach themselves to each other, or to buildings



Roberta with Catherine Flood, co-curator of the exhibition.

'Nobody doubts that a long and concerted effort will be needed to finally defeat IS.'

'To my mind this is a policing action against a genocidal cult with access to powerful weapons.'



An inflatable cobbles stone used during a 2012 protest in Barcelona. How do you arrest a bouncy brick?

‘Here we see the unequal balance in resources between protesters and whatever authorities they are opposing.’

or bulldozers to make it hard for the police to remove them. Others are propaganda, such as a trade union banner or the 1986 leaflet (produced by Greenpeace and, it later turned out, an undercover police officer) that sparked the McLibel trial. Roberta's pieces are arpilleras, the appliqued textiles made first in Chile and then in other places, that commemorate people taken away by ruling regimes and other atrocities. With these, the labour and care taken in making them commands respect and disarms aggression.

Here we see the unequal balance in resources between protesters and whatever authorities they are opposing. There is also the kinship between artistic and political discontent: a similar urge lies behind the wish to reinvent things and reinvent society. “Our world is in dire need ... of creative maladjustment,” said Martin Luther King. “To disobey in order to take action”, according to the philosopher Gaston Bachelard, “is the byword of all genuine creative spirits.”

The programme says the exhibition is of “many small Promethean disobediences, at once clever, well thought out, and patiently pursued, so subtle at times to avoid punishment entirely”.

CCADD conference: ‘Building peace in a troubled world’

In September, I attended the International Conference of the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (CCADD). This was held at the Priory of St Benedict at Sacre Coeur in Paris and organised by Justice and Peace France with support from Secours Catholique-Caritas France. As a member of the CCADD executive, I was able to advise on the content of the conference.

Over 50 delegates took part from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Latvia, Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, UK and USA.

Since France was the host country, French experts did the toping and tailing of events. Michel Dubost (Catholic Bishop of Evry-Corbeil-Essones) opened the conference and Justine Vaisse, Director, Centre of Analysis, Planning and Strategy, French Ministry on Foreign Affairs gave the keynote address. The topics discussed over the five days included: the state of the UN and its effectiveness; the role of emerging countries in international security; Pope Francis' influence on RC attitudes to world peace; the Ukraine crisis and its affect on the EU; Can political and ethical lessons be learnt from WWI; NATO in the context of US strategic priorities; and international humanitarian law in relation to current crises.

I presented a paper on ‘The peace movement in WWI and its legacy’. The focus was war resistance in Britain, using as a theme the remarkable activities of WWI conscientious objectors. It also examined how the British anti-war movement and its international links have developed with special reference to Christian witness. Finally the story was brought up to date with a few observations on the British anti-war movement today. The text draws heavily on *Subversive Peacemakers: war resistance 1914-1918*, a book by my colleague Clive Barrett, to be published in October (see page 8 for more on this).

During the conference, visits were made to the WWI Museum at Peronne and to the military cemeteries on the Somme battlefields at Fricourt and Theipval (right).



All the main papers from the conference will soon be on the CCADD website, www.ccadd.org.uk/, and I have prepared a summary of the key points which I can send now to anyone who is interested.

Cuckooed – a fascinating comedy of betrayal and corporate spying

To hear that Mark Thomas has a theatre piece entitled ‘Cuckooed’ at the Edinburgh Festival was a blast from the past. Some 10 years, while a member of the Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) steering committee, I was deeply embroiled with the spying case about which Mark created the piece. I was a member of a small group of people who analysed all the evidence we had on the alleged spying of Martin Hogbin. We did attempt a prosecution with the Data Protection Agency but were unsuccessful because they were not keen to pursue the case and it was eventually dropped.



For many years, Mark Thomas has been a well-known stand-up comic and writer, and at the same time, a committed activist. He was a firm supporter of CAAT and used his television show to highlight the corruption of arms trade companies. He worked with Martin and a close friendship developed. He is quoted as saying that he “hit it off with Martin ... he was rude, warm and had a wonderful sense of mischief”. All of who knew him felt something like that. But it transpired that Martin had been secretly passing on hundreds of CAAT's internal emails to a company with links to a corporate investigator. BAE, Britain's biggest arms company later admitted hiring the investigator.

Mark Thomas was a staunch supporter of Martin's innocence, but the facts were compelling and eventually he became extremely bitter about the betrayal. Cuckooed is an excoriating, heart-felt dialogue about what happened. Although a comedy, it is also very poignant and may well have helped him come to terms with what happened.

The show has been praised and won two awards during its run at the Edinburgh fringe festival in August. It will play at various theatres around the country in the coming months.

‘The cemetery
still echoed
the silent
memory of
these men who
travelled so far
to fight a war.’

The World War that truly was ‘worldwide’

Remembering the cost of war

Over the next few editions, *The Anglican Peacemaker* will be looking at various aspects of ‘remembering World War I’ under the broad heading of ‘the costs of war’. Readers are invited to submit pieces on what this war has ‘cost’ from various perspectives.

By Sue Claydon, APF vice-chair

In their recent publication, *Remember the world as well as the war*, The British Council reports their research which shows that while public knowledge about WWI in the UK and other countries rarely goes beyond the experience of European soldiers on the Western Front: respondents around the world also feel the effects of the war to this day. The Council hopes that, “By learning about the events of 1914–18 and the subsequent peace negotiations, people in the UK will better understand the world they live in today”. I would like to share some background and reflection as to why we need to rethink our vision of WWI.

British Council, (2014). *Remember the world as well as the war: why the global reach and enduring legacy of the First World War still matter today*. (www.britishcouncil.org). A summary of this report was included on page 6 of the last issue of TAP.

In March 2014, I found myself walking through a trench from WWI. I was not in Flanders, but in Kenya. Earlier in the year I first came across a reference to the ‘forgotten war’ in East Africa. Like many, my school history classes only mentioned the ‘Western Front’. While I knew that people from various countries of the British/French Empires had been involved – as an American student WWI did not get a big part in the curriculum – I did not realise the extent that so many countries were entangled or that fighting took place outside Europe.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the German colonies of Togoland, Cameroons, South-West Africa (now Namibia), and East Africa (now Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi) all saw fighting. It was, however, in East Africa that the war raged until the 25 November 1918. Men were brought there from India, South Africa, S. and N. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia), the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria, Nyasaland (Malawi) as well as the Belgium Congo (DRC) and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). Also, those living in what are now Uganda, Kenya, Somalia and Sudan had military units.

Before war was declared, there was concern that if the ‘European’ war spread to the various African colonies, it would undermine the superiority of the whites by their unbecoming wrangling and specifically if the killing of white men by black men was endorsed.

While the Kings African Rifles (British) and the German Schutztruppen had trained African soldiers, the huge numbers of ‘carriers’ (estimates are over 1 million) required for this war were local men. Many were ‘forced’ into this service. This conscription depopulated many districts, causing a huge drop in agriculture that combined with drought in 1917 saw thousands die. The German carriers were often not paid and took what they needed from the local people, further disadvantaging those not actually involved in the fighting. In an area where disease took large numbers of casualties, medical resources were also diverted from local needs.

The attitude of ‘officialdom’ to the c. 100,000 porters lost from the British Carrier Corps in East Africa is summed up in this quote from a Colonial Office official when he wrote in 1920 that the East African

campaign had not become a scandal only “...because the people who suffered most were the carriers – and after all, who cares about native carriers?”

I visited two of the WWI cemeteries in Kenya. Visits to a war cemetery is always a time to reflect on the cost of war. As we walked down the now disused railway line that was built in

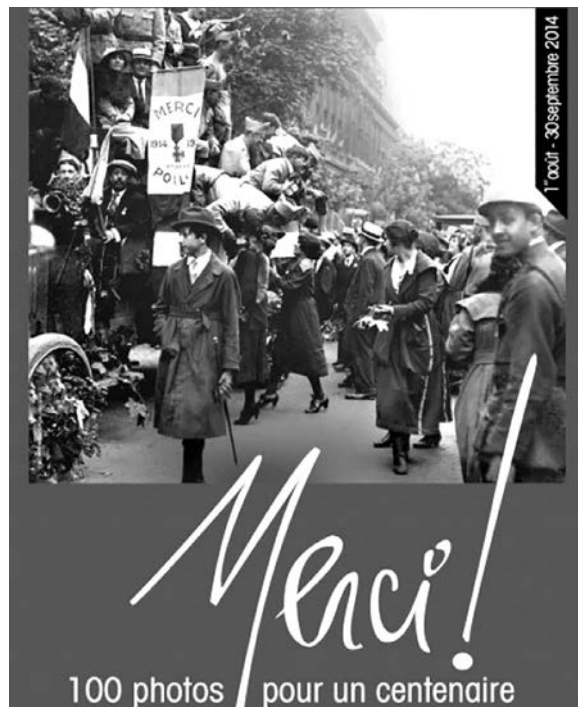
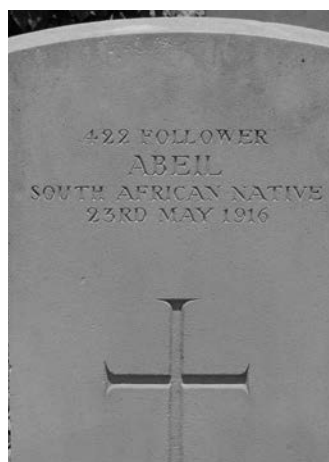
1915 (and used until 2007), I wondered if we would find the ‘Indian’ cemetery uncared for. No, the War Graves Commission keep it well maintained. However, it still echoed the silent memory of these men who travelled so far to fight a war. At Voi, the cemetery is more reminiscent of those in Flanders. I asked the caretaker where were the Kenyans buried and he took us to a piece of disused land next door. Some work had been done on it recently, but not even a marker was in place. How easy it is to forget!

To this quote from King George V in Flanders, 1922 – “I have many times asked myself whether there can be more potent advocates of peace upon earth through the years to come than this massed multitude of silent witnesses to the desolation of war.” I would add that those witnesses are not just in Flanders. Although, as mentioned, most of the graves of the Africans are unmarked (an exception below) they, with all those from around the world that died in East Africa, also stand as yet another reminder of the ‘cost of war’ and witnesses to the desolation of war and still to be achieved peace on earth.

The British Council survey shows the following. (1) 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. (2) The UK’s role in the war and its aftermath continue to colour international perceptions of the UK. (3) 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.

Photographic exhibition along the Avenue des Champs-Élysées in Paris

On the occasion of the WWI centenary, France is paying tribute to the French and foreign combatants, and also to the colonial troops and the civil population involved in this terrible conflict. Displayed along the most famous Parisian avenue, there are 100 large format photographs with French and English captions, offering a transverse perspective on the Great War. The exhibition is by the French centenary organisation Mission Centenaire. Simply called ‘Merci’, its sponsors want to especially express France’s gratitude to those who sometimes had to cross the world’s oceans and continents to fight on French soil. Troops came from sub-Saharan Africa, America, Australia, Britain, Canada, China, India, New Zealand, Poland, Russia and South Africa to fight alongside their French allies.

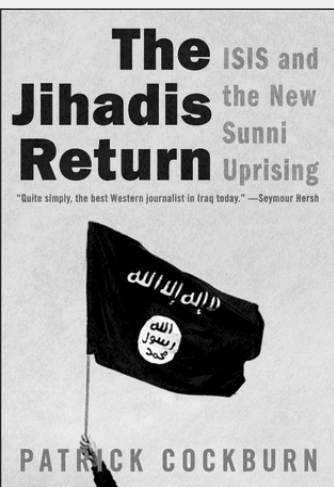


Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Patrick Coburn (2014)

The jihadis return: Isis and the new Sunni uprising
OR Books



In six chapters, the journalist, Patrick Cockburn skilfully guides the reader through the takeover of Syria's revolution by the ultra-radical jihadist group, Isis and shows how the conflict has spilt over in the region. He regards the takeover of the Iraqi city of Mosul by Isis in June this year as being

similar in regional magnitude to the 9/11 attacks on America, as well as a seismic defeat for western aims. He notes that the core failure of the US to confront the roots of radical Islamist ideology in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan after 9/11 has left it flailing to enforce a genuine counter-terrorist strategy elsewhere. The result of this dire confusion among policy makers, who have lagged far behind events, has let religious extremists and carve out a 'Islamic state' the size of Britain.

But the book omits other factors. Radical jihadists are not born but made, and missing from his book is any emphasis on the Assad regime's culpability in creating the fertile ground for sectarian hatred that allowed Isis spores to germinate. The regime's industrial use of torture, which has provoked a ravenous desire for retribution among Syria's Sunni population, is not mentioned.

Another Isis recruitment flag, the chemical attacks of 21 August last year, which killed hundreds in the Damascus suburbs, proven beyond reasonable doubt, to be the work of the regime, are scarcely touched upon.

The West's decision not to intervene – despite 'red-line' warnings by the US over the use of chemical weapons – was the death knell of hope for any Syrian Sunni wishing for support from foreign democracies.

Henry Kissinger (2014)

World order: reflections on the character of nations and the course of history

Atlantic Books

World order is the summation of Henry Kissinger's thinking about history, strategy and statecraft. As if taking a perspective from far above the globe, it examines the great tectonic plates of history and motivations of nations, explaining the attitudes that states and empires have taken to the rest from the formation of Europe to our times our own times.

Kissinger identifies four great 'world orders' in history – the European, Islamic, Chinese and American. Since the end of Charlemagne's

empire, and especially since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, European states have striven first in their own continent and then globally. Islamic states have looked to their destined expansion over regions populated by unbelievers, a position exemplified by Iran under the ayatollahs. For over 2,000 years the Chinese have seen 'all Heaven' as being tributary to the Chinese Emperor. America views itself as a 'city on a hill', a beacon to the world, whose values are universally valid.

To play a responsible role in the evolution of a twenty-first-century world order, Kissinger says the US must be prepared to answer a number of questions for itself.

What do we seek to prevent, no matter how it happens, and if necessary alone? The answer defines the minimum condition of the survival of society.

What do we seek to achieve, even if not supported by any multilateral effort? These goals define the minimum objectives of the national strategy.

What do we seek to achieve, or prevent, only if supported by an alliance? This defines the outer limits of the country's strategic aspirations as part of a global system.

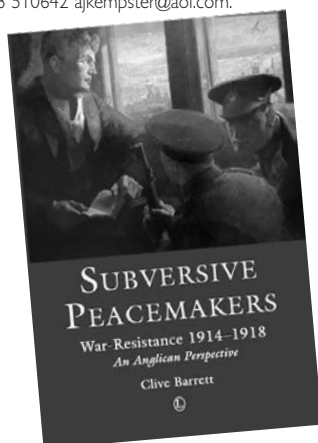
What should we not engage in, even if urged by a multilateral group or alliance? This defines the limiting condition of the American participation in world order.

Above all what is the nature of the values that we seek in advance? What applications depend in part on circumstance?

Subversive peacemakers by Clive Barrett

APF is providing support for the publication of our APF counsellor Clive Barrett's book *Subversive Peacemakers: war-resistance 1914-1918*, to be published in October. We will be receiving a limited supply of complimentary copies, so please let the Secretary know as soon as possible if you would like one.

11, Weavers End, Hanslope, Milton Keynes, MK19 7PA
01908 510642 ajkempster@aol.com.

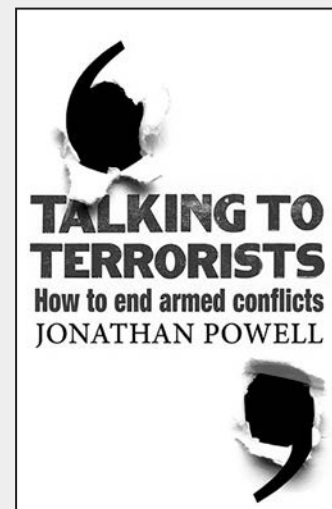


Clive masterfully narrates the story of the peace movement, bringing together stories of war-resistance until now lost, disregarded or undervalued. The people involved, as well as the dramatic events of the conflict themselves, are seen in a new light.

He shows that the Church of England provided an unlikely setting for much of this war resistance.

Jonathan Powell (2014)

Talking to terrorists: how to end armed conflicts
Bodley Head



Talking to terrorists is as morally repugnant as it is politically necessary. This is the paradox that Jonathan Powell expresses in this absorbing and authoritative study of deals done with terrorists around the world.

From jungle clearings to stately homes and anonymous airport hotels, Talking to terrorists puts us in the room with those who seek to change the course of history. Here are the terrorists, secret agents and go-betweens who make up the invisible world of negotiations between terrorists and governments.

What is repugnant is obvious: giving in to blackmail, rewarding killers with concessions and according them respect. Terrorists hate being called terrorists; they want the dignity of 'freedom fighter' and Powell that this is often their core demand.

He is blunt about what makes it necessary to talk to them: "In democracies we cannot kill all the terrorists, so we will have to talk to them at some stage." While a government's army and intelligence agencies will always press for a military solution, fighting violence with violence rarely wins in the end. Time and again, states and their terrorist opponents battle each other to a 'mutually hurting stalemate'. Only then do governments and terrorists start looking for a political way out.

Across the world governments proclaim that they will never 'negotiate with evil'. And yet they always have done so and always will. Why, then, do we ignore the lessons of this history of clandestine communication, often with devastating consequences?

Powell has spent nearly two decades mediating between organisations. Here he argues that no conflict – however bloody, ancient or difficult – is insoluble. With attention to the lessons of the past, patience and above all political leadership, they can be solved, even where previous attempts have failed.

Talking to terrorists will always be practically difficult and morally hazardous. But it is the right thing to do.

DIARY OF EVENTS

► LOCAL AND NATIONAL

11 October Peace History Conference organised by the Movement for the Abolition of War. Imperial War Museum (London). www.abolishwar.org.uk

12 to 19 October Week of Prayer for World Peace.

24 October United Nations Day. www.un.org/en/events/unday/.

24-30 October UN Disarmament Week. www.un.org/depts/dhl/disarmament/index.html

9 November 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. For details contact Vijay Mehta: vijay@vmpeace.org or 0207 790 1999

2015

19 February Network for Peace AGM and discussion on campaigning on WWI. Details later. All welcome.

The APF Annual General Meeting will be held on 6 December at Bicester House, Kings End, Bicester. The meeting will begin at 11.00 with a bring-your-own lunch. Transport can be arranged from Oxford or Bicester railway stations. Please let the Hon Secretary if you are coming so that he can send the necessary papers and provide/discuss travel details.

Call for nominations for members of the Governing Body

Nominations are invited for the election of two members of the GB. Each nomination should be accompanied by the written consent of the nominee. Please send them to the Hon. Secretary (details below) by 15 November.

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,
PE15 0AH 013546 54214 sue.claydon@tesco.net

Honorary General Secretary: Dr Tony Kempster

11, Weavers End, Hanslope, Milton Keynes, MK19 7PA
01908 510642 ajkempster@aol.com

Honorary Treasurer: Mr Roger Payne

33 Glynswood, Chinnor, Oxfordshire, OX39 4JE
01844 351959 apfpayne@btinternet.com

Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray

1 Wilford Drive, Ely CB6 1TL
01353 668495 suegilmurray@icloud.com

Annual Report Summary

This annual report runs from April 2003 to March 2004. The Fellowship's activities and events for this period are covered in The Anglican Peacemakers of June, September and December 2013 and June 2014. The articles cover our work on a range of fronts.

They show how APF is represented on the management of other peace organisations, sometimes in key positions, particularly the International Peace Bureau in Geneva, The Peace Museum in Bradford and the Council on Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament (UK). This involvement allows us to influence their projects and other activities of these organisations.

We also refer to the education work our members carry out in schools and the production of resources for teachers. Some of this work is done in collaboration with other member of national Peace Education Network.

They also report on the activities of our member overseas, particularly in New Zealand and Africa. Notable in this period has been the VSO work of our vice chair, Sue Claydon in South Sudan and the 'Balls for peace' project in several African countries.

Then there is our involvement with peace events and demonstrations, significant ones being the Week of Prayer for World Peace, the International Conscientious Objectors day and events around Remembrance Day.

Our general articles are aimed to provide thought on contemporary anti-war and social justice issues, taking wherever possible a balanced view of events. We also use TAP to introduce and review new publications, films, music and art works which say something about the peace an pacifist things with which APF members are involved.

If you would like to join the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and are in agreement with the pledge:

'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.'

Then please (✓) box **one** in the form below.

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**.

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.**

☐ **I wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.**

Name and designation (Revd, Dr, Mr, Mrs etc):

please print clearly and give your Christian name first.

Address

Year of birth

Diocese

I enclose a cheque for as my first subscription (*makes cheque payable to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship*)

Please ✓ 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 ✓ if you want to make a regular monthly or annual subscription using a Standing Order

I heard of APF through

Signed

Date

Application for
MEMBERSHIP

Film Look

► RECENT FILMS REVIEWED

The honourable woman

Directed by Hugo Blick

This is an epic thriller shown on BBC 2 and now available on DVD. It centres around a woman – Nessa Stein – who takes an unusual situation and twists it. She comes into her father's fortune that included his international arms business. Using this windfall and her passions, she finds herself in the middle of an even larger conflict – the Israel-Palestinian one to be exact. She works on negotiating peace between the two groups and is thrust into a conflict of her own.



This drama involves several conflicts. On one level it deals with a real life international drama that is currently being experienced and has been for years. Bringing it to a micro-level, the people are left dealing with Nessa's conflicts: of her father's death, of her family's reaction, and of her friends and enemies who go to great lengths to stop her.

Here Blick had the conviction to take on a really big and earnest subject – irreconcilable differences in the Middle East – and found its associated drama in the lies and betrayals of human nature itself and everyman's duty to struggle beyond it. He chose no sides and offered no political resolution. Avoiding lazy pigeonholes of good and evil, he was free to explore the complexities of the people involved.

Neither Blick nor the BBC could have predicted how topical his drama would become by the time of broadcast, which coincided with the recent battle in Gaza.

This is a series that asked many interesting questions about the overlap between personal ambition and peacemaking. It concluded, however, as so many Middle East dramas do – by throwing hands up in the air and declaring the situation intractable.

Trust was a key theme of *The Honourable Woman* and was referred to in each episode. At one point or another, Nessa and every other major character has urged someone to trust them. The real test of trust, however, was between the audience and the writer. To watch Hugo Blick's Middle East political thriller all the way to the end was to implicitly trust that at least some of the many, many loose ends would be tied up. If you haven't seen it yet, see how you fare.

Night will fall

Directed by André Singer



After 70 years suppressed by government and left languishing in the Imperial War Museum's archives some of the most visceral, detailed and shocking footage of the liberation of Nazi concentration camps is being released. This documentary follows the backstory of the unseen Holocaust film 'German concentration camps, factual survey' scheduled to be directed by Alfred Hitchcock, and examines the politics behind its long disappearance.

The film shows local Germans being forced to witness the camps by allied soldiers. The Germans walk in as though on a country outing and the camera watches, unblinking, at the side of mass grave the size of tennis courts, as women faint and men stare at the ground in the deepest shame.

Yet although witnessing was seen as essential by the soldiers, the British government decided, late in 1945, that watching the searing evidence would cause 'apathy' among German citizens as the allies tried to rebuild the country and deal with the new Soviet threat. The government was anxious to not further alienate the German people.



The full version of the *Factual survey* film will premiere this month at the London Film Festival, but the documentary 'Night will fall' shows long sections of original footage. It is tough but compelling viewing. Singer's take is unflinching. He is a BBC and Granada director and a producer of human rights documentaries. Singer chronicles the filmmakers' personal involvement, as well as contemporary reactions to the original footage – which the government of the day deemed too shocking for public consumption, but which now at last can be judged on its merits as a terrible warning against the consequences of unchallenged dictatorship and fascism.

(Based on an article by Kate Muir in 19 September 2014 *The Times*.)

Continued from page two

Is history on the side of the West?



addressed. She also called on governments to cut off the flow of military supplies to Syria and said the council must deploy "rapid, flexible and resource-efficient human rights monitoring missions".

It is undeniable that the UN has reverted to a pre-1989 situation in which gridlock usually paralyses the council and also constrains many of the specialist agencies. But, as several delegates pointed out at the CCADD Paris conference, there are ways of maneuvering around these constraints. One is to concentrate on humanitarian objectives, including humanitarian access in war zones. Worthwhile in themselves, they can also serve on occasion as steps toward a broader engagement between warring parties. A little sneaky diplomacy can be smuggled in. In his fascinating and optimistic book, *Talking to terrorists: how to end armed conflicts* (2014), Jonathan Powell shows what can be achieved with attention to the lessons of the past, patience and above all, political leadership.

But above all, the anti-war movement should ask questions about where justice lies in our modern conflicts especially when they no longer fit traditional descriptions of warring parties and methods of engagement – another view repeated in the CCADD conference. In doing that, we should be more open to self-criticism and the views of others and not trapped in a self-referential morality (as discussed in the last issue of TAP). This is an argument for the anti-war movement to be more engaged with groups and institutions outside the movement and show more willingness to debate the key issues publicly with them.

And, difficult as it may be, we should not blame the current craze for the jihad on religion. More significantly, it is a distorted search by the disaffected for meaning in a world, arguably through losing touch with the saner, more creative aspects of religion. This is the essential message in Karen Armstrong's book, *Fields of blood: religion and the history of violence* (2014). She ends the work by saying "We are all, religious and secularist alike, responsible for the current state of the world. ...The scapegoat ritual was an attempt to sever the community's relationship with its misdeeds: it cannot be a solution for us today".

And in Jackson Browne standing in the breach: "But you know the change the world needs now is there in everyone".

Accounts for the year ended 5/4/2014

Treasurer's comments

These accounts have been prepared wholly on a receipts and payments basis in accordance with the requirements of the Charity Commissioners. With the help of a portion of a legacy, receipts exceed payments. General subscriptions include the previous years tax refunds but not this tax year. Member subscriptions produced over 90% of non-legacy income.

The reserves are now sufficient to meet the policy requirement to maintain more than one years normal expenses. Notice of another significant legacy is likely to transform governance, activities and grant making ability.

A copy of the Independent Examiners report is available from the Treasurer.

Roger Payne

1. Receipt & Payments Account (General Purpose Fund)				Notes to accounts	General Purpose Funds		
		2013/2014	2012/2013			2013/2014	2012/2013
Receipts	Notes	£	£	RECEIPTS		£	£
Subscriptions	a1	9392.65	9438.78	Note a1: Subscriptions			
Donations & Legacies	a2	15262.00	197.00	Annual Subscriptions		2968.02	2503.61
General Activities	a3	109.50	224.50	Gift Aid Subscriptions & Donations		5013.00	5662.00
Income from Assets	a4	66.08	99.20	Income Tax Refunds		1411.63	1273.17
Miscellaneous	a5	232.08	258.15		Sub Total	9392.65	9438.78
Total Receipts		25062.31	10217.63				
Payments				Note a2: Donations			
Administration	b1	4073.91	3393.62	Donations		262.00	197.00
Literature & Publications	b2	7638.78	10944.27	Legacies & Estates		15000.00	0.00
Affiliations & Grants	b3	410.00	390.00		Sub Total	15262.00	197.00
Total Payments		12122.69	14727.89	Note a3: General Activities			
Net Receipts/(Payments)		12939.62	-4510.26	Sale of Literature, CD's, badges, etc.		109.50	224.50
Cash Funds		25739.30	12799.68		Sub Total	109.50	224.50
2. Statement of Assets and Liabilities				Note a4: Income from Assets			
				Deposit Interest		66.08	96.47
				HMRC Interest		0.00	2.73
					Sub Total	66.08	99.20
Monetary Assets				Note a5: Miscellaneous			
CBF Deposit Fund		23973.34	9973.34	Peace Balls Contributions		0.00	200.00
National Westminster Current Account		1450.10	2673.14	Refunded expenses		232.08	58.15
Paypal Account		215.86	153.20		Sub Total	232.08	258.15
Virgin Money Charity Account		100.00					
Total Monetary funds		25739.30	12799.68	PAYMENTS		2013/2014	2012/2013
Debtors						£	£
Income tax recoverable	c1	1332.13	1411.63	Note b1: Administration			
				Travelling		1292.18	1318.01
				Stationery and Printing		484.34	193.28
				Office Expenses:		982.59	630.00
				Postage		358.26	242.13
				Hire of Rooms		0.00	100.00
				Insurances		704.05	673.26
				Web site, Computers and software		250.86	146.00
				Sundries (PayPal, Nat West fees and refunds)		1.63	90.94
					Sub Total	4073.91	3393.62
INDEPENDENT EXAMINERS REPORT				Note b2: Literature and Publications			
I have examined the relevant books and vouchers and am satisfied that				Anglican Peacemaker Postage & Printing inc. Annual report		7305.95	8357.11
the above account is correct.				Literature, badges, CD's		332.83	2587.16
An Independent Examiners report has been submitted to the Governing Body.					Sub Total	7638.78	10944.27
Signed Richard Harries				Note b3: Affiliations and Grants			
				Affiliations		260.00	290.00
				Donations		150.00	100.00
				Peace Balls		0.00	0.00
					Sub Total	410.00	390.00
				Non-Monetary Assets		2013/2014	2012/2013
						£	£
				Note c1: Income tax and Gift Aid			
				Only money recovered in the year is shown as receipts			
				Further amounts recoverable for the year is shown as Debtors (5013+315.50)*20/80= £1332.13)			
				Note d1: Stocks of publications			
				Consists of 45 different types of leaflets, CD's,tapes, books			
				used to promote the work of APF.			
				Publications are valued at realisable cost.	Total Value	2480.95	2512.45
				Note d2: Office Furniture and Equipment			
				Items are valued at cost.	Purchase Date		
				Display Boards	May-98	480.58	480.58
				HP Computer 17" Laptop	May-10	582.88	582.88
				Projector	Sep-07	399.48	399.48
				Banners	Jul-08	505.25	505.25
				Gift Aid Software	Mar-11	55.00	55.00
					Sub Total	2023.19	2023.19

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No. 209610

An alternative assessment of the Ukraine crisis and president Putin

Following our policy of offering impartial discussion and inviting debate, The Revd Brian Cooper gives this response to the opening article, 'Myths, facts and interpretations' in the last issue of TAP.

While sympathetic with Tony Kempster's strictures on the Britain's anti-war movement – yes, we can be naïve, predictably simplistic, unwilling to recognise complexity – I dissent from his analysis of the Ukraine crisis and assessment of president Putin. Yanukovich, albeit authoritarian and corrupt, was no dictator, but Ukraine's lawful president, fairly elected in 2010. Due to face the electorate in a year's time, he could have been removed peacefully then. I see EU zealous expansionism as a major factor in the crisis. Kiev protests, mainly expressing western Ukraine sentiment, swiftly led the EU president to declare "Ukraine's future belongs with the EU", so dismissing a thousand years of Ukraine's integral relationship with Russia. EU also seemed a 'Trojan horse' for NATO: having failed to pull Georgia into NATO, US saw its chance in Ukraine: EU and US dangled huge aid if it left Russia's orbit.

As Molotov cocktails replaced placards, Senator John McCain and EU officials urged on street fighters at the barricades, where neo-Fascists revived sinister memories of WW2. Yanukovich's offer to form a 'national unity' government to resolve the crisis with was rejected at the barricades.

For Putin, such highly provocative policies, utterly disregarding Russia's legitimate security interests, constituted a huge political threat to its southern borders – and posed a critical dilemma: how to secure Russia's key-strategic naval base in Crimea, held by agreement with Ukraine. So he used Russian naval personnel already there to effect a bloodless annexation, ratified by referendum. He gained Crimea – but knew it would mean long-term loss of influence in Kiev and drastic deterioration in the relations with the West.

Putin sees, with good reason, that the US/West have betrayed Russia since Gorbachev ended the Cold War. NATO assurances that it would not expand to Russia's borders, were nullified with NATO membership of Poland and the Baltic states. This and other grievances caused him to be very suspicious of the West's intentions.

I see no evidence that he intended to re-start the Cold War. He wants a federal political settlement for eastern region. It is high time the West 'thought outside the box' and engaged it in serious dialogue towards a pan-European and Euro-periphery security system. This crisis can be solved by diplomacy, not Cold War posturing and harmful sanctions.

As for Kempster's view "Putin's record in power is shocking", the people of the great Russian heartland – away from West-leaning Moscow and St Petersburg – where he has never had



an electoral majority – would heartily disagree. Putin is very popular because of his achievements. After disintegration under Gorbachev and socio-economic chaos under Yeltsin, among other important things, he has restored Russians' pride in their Motherland and themselves, used oil and gas revenues for generous social welfare, paid pensions on time, brought the oligarchs under control, re-built the military [I note this without approval]. These achievements are undeniable - Patriarch Kirill deemed these post-Yeltsin changes 'miraculous'. Putin works

closely with the Russian Orthodox Church to replace post-Communist cynicism with strong social morality – and personally is a devout Orthodox with an abbot as spiritual adviser.

Brian Cooper is Churches and Inter-faith Secretary of Uniting for Peace and Director of Christian East-West Reconciliation.

School and church resources on the Christmas 1914 truces

Two APF members, Andii Bowsher and Nick Megoran, are co-convenors of the Martin Luther King Peace Committee. King came to Newcastle in 1967 to receive an honorary degree; and the committee was set up to honour King's legacy by drawing on his ideas and example to build cultures of peace. It is based in the chaplaincies of Northumbria and Newcastle Universities.

As the UK commences four years of commemorations of the centenary of World War I, the Martin Luther King Peace Committee has released resources to help schoolteachers and church leaders mark the December 1914 Christmas Truces as part of their World War I teaching. The resources are intended for use in the half terms before Christmases from 2014 until 2017.

Since the truces often began with singing of Christmas carols, it is fitting that this Christmas, as we celebrate the birth of the Prince of Peace, we encourage churches to remember this moment of hope and vision for a different way of relating founded in the Christmas message.

The schools' pack contains lesson plans, hand-outs, worksheets and PowerPoint slideshows for a range of subjects including history, English/literacy, geography, modern languages, RE/PSE, art, PE and even cookery. It also contains complete outlines and materials for Christmas Truces-themed assemblies and school carol services. Co-designed with teachers, they are aimed primarily at Key Stage 2 and 3, but can be adapted for younger children and older students.

The church leaders pack contains ideas for peace liturgies, Sunday School activities, and carol services. The Christmas order of service weaves the story of the Truces in with the traditional narrative of the nativity as presented in an abridged version of the nine lessons and carols format, giving an evocative angle on the angels' song of 'on earth peace, good will toward men.'

All resources can be downloaded for free at www.mlkpc.org. If you require any other information, please contact Dr Nick Megoran on 0191 222 6450 or email mlkpc@newcastle.ac.uk

Peace hymns at the Hymn Society's 2014 Conference

Two APF members give a lecture with WWI in mind.

The Annual Conference of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland was held at the end of July at the Royal Agricultural University's campus in Cirencester. Christopher Idle and Sue Gilmurray presented one of the lectures, with the centenary of World War I in mind, entitled 'Prince of peace and God of battles? Hymns and songs of peace and war'.

Chris looked back to hymns such as *Thy kingdom come*, O God, with their pleas for peace, contrasting them with the warlike language of some psalms and of hymns such as *Onward Christian soldiers*. Sue expanded on our understanding of battle language in hymns as metaphorical, referring to the battle against evil rather than our fellow humans. She also suggested that in recent hymn-writing, that metaphor is becoming less acceptable, as we become more acutely aware of the horrors of war. Chris ended by quoting a variety of hymns which focus on peacemaking, from a Charles Wesley text which calls war "the hellish art", to Shirley Murray from New Zealand, asking for forgiveness "that the earth is stacked with weapons waiting to be used."

Sue opened and closed the session by singing hymns from APF's collection *Songs for the Road to Peace*. Another from the collection, *It was no empty dreamer*, featured in the Conference's Festival of Hymns that evening and was sung by the whole assembly. Several bought the CD and score to take home.

'Requiem' by Steve Knightley

The song is on a new CD 'Centenary words and music of the Great War' by the folk group 'Show of hands'. The CD combines poetry written during WWI with new songs. 'Requiem' is sung after the reading of the poem, 'For the fallen' by Laurence Binyon. It is sung to the folk tune, 'The parting glass' and essentially a funeral piece. It is a foil to all the solemn ceremony associated with Remembrance commemorations. Speaking as the soldier's voice it is about remembered love and happiness: 'think of me and gently smile!'



I'll have no bugles played from lonely shires
Or flags half-raised on a country spire
I want no curtains drawn in quiet rooms
Nor mausoleum or marble tomb
Foundations laid with heads bowed down
No hushed cortege in a silent town
But in these coming days pause awhile
To think of me and gently smile

I want no sad parade to muffled drums
With pipers played at the setting sun
I need no words engraved on a woodland bower
Or coat-of-arms on a distant tower
No flowers strewn by wayside shrines
No solemn prayers with hands entwined
In these coming days pause awhile
To think of me and gently smile

So shout the words we left unsaid
Or take the paths I will never tread
In the city streets and country mile
Think of me and gently smile.

'The sensory war 1914-2014'

Manchester Art Gallery, from 11 October

The First World War involved a profound re-configuration of sensory experience and perception through the invention of devastating military technologies, which destroyed human lives and altered the environment beyond recognition. Its legacy has continued and evolved through even more radical forms of destruction over the last hundred years. Throughout the century, artists have struggled to understand the true effect of modern technological warfare. While military and press photography have brought a new capacity to coldly document such lethal displays, artists found a different way of seeing. Manchester Art Gallery has a nationally important collection of art of the First World War, which was assembled by its first director, Lawrence Haward. Taking this rich collection as the starting point, this show includes historic and contemporary art from the UK, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, the United States, Canada, Japan, Vietnam, New Zealand, Algeria, Ireland, Iran, Israel and Palestine.

'The sensory war 1914-2014', the gallery's most ambitious exhibition to date explores how artists since 1914 have tried to capture the devastating sensory impact of warfare – pain, noise, trauma and environmental destruction have dominated artists' imagination. Artworks by the hibakusha, survivors of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, created in the 1970s, are being shown in the UK for the first time.

The exhibition concludes with Katie Davies's work 'The separation line', documenting the military repatriation funeral processes for soldiers killed in Afghanistan, in the British town Royal Wootton Bassett.



Gas mask by Sophie Jodin (2008)

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

October 2014

'Digital death' by Deborah Stockdale

Living in Co. Donegal, Ireland, Deborah creates exceptional textile artwork and art quilts. She is particularly known for her work on historical themes, as well as political textiles (arpilleras) which have been exhibited internationally. She has one piece in the 'Disobedient objects' exhibition at the V&A reported on page 5.

In this new arpillera (size 25" w x 28" l), Deborah depicts the reality of the use of predator drones using the image from the '#Not a Bug Splat' campaign. For this campaign an artists collective created a huge image on vinyl of a Pakistani child (who lost most of her family to drone strikes) which they place on the ground near possible target villages in Afghanistan. The aim is to 'humanise' the targets and combat the insensitivity of the predator drone operators who refer to civilian casualties as "bug splats". The child's image is visible from the air, and is also shown in this image on the drone operator's screens. This arpillera also highlights the links between this type of warfare and the prevalence of warfare gaming, and the desensitization and psychological blinkering to the realities of combat through these games.

The artwork includes painted areas, pieced, applique, digital prints, embroidery, quilting, and small dolls, made from cotton, linens and silks.

If you would like to contact Deborah to discuss her work, she is on djstockdale@eircom.net

(Detail from above)



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