

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

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Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists



This issue of TAP goes under the surface of some of the topics discussed earlier in the year, particularly those related to western security following the Ukraine invasion and the rise of IS. It attempts to make some sense of what is happening by considering the nature of violence, and how it often relates to our fears and insecurity.

We examine the common belief in the peace movement that human beings are innately non-violent and that sooner or later all will be right with the world (the so-called 'liberal delusion'). We also look at the role of religion as a cause of violence and consider how we understand the meaning of evil.

Reference is also made to the way in which military violence invades our lives and affects our attitudes and actions; and how, as peacemakers, we can best respond to limit its impact.

The regular features: the book and film reviews and the art of peace also follow these themes.

This issue also has a distinctly German orientation related to WW2, the Holocaust and to the way the country has recently taken centre stage in EU politics and is now a key player in relations with the US, Russia and China.

Tony Kempster

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'Broadsword' by Ian Anderson

I see a dark sail on the horizon set under a black cloud that hides the sun.

Bring me my broadsword and clear understanding.
Bring me my cross of gold as a talisman.

Get up to the roundhouse on the cliff-top standing.
Take women and children and bed them down.

Bless with a hard heart those who surround me.
Bless the women and children who firm our hands.
Put our backs to the north wind.
Hold fast by the river,
Sweet memories to drive us on for the motherland.



Ian Anderson is the leader of the group, Jethro Tull. 'Broadsword' is on its album 'Broadsword and the beast'. The song, says Anderson, is 'a brooding vision of long ships and Viking invaders bent on pillage and battle'. 'Beastie', another song on the album, is about the spectre that feeds our deepest fears:

'Beastie'

He roved up and down through history –
spectre with tales to tell.
In the darkness when the campfires dead –
to each his private hell.

If you look behind your shoulder,
as you feel his eyes to feast,
you can witness now the ever-changing nature
of the beast.

HUMAN NATURE AND WAR

The German sociologist Ulrich Beck, who died recently, has been trying to describe a world that seems to be unhinged because of the environmental crisis, far-reaching technological changes, terrorism, the inadequacy of political governance and other factors. In his latest book, *The metamorphosis of the world* (2015), he coins the metaphor of a caterpillar undergoing a profound transformation in its cocoon. He suggests that something similar is happening to us, although we are hardly aware of what is going on (report by Mary Kaldor in *The Guardian*, 6 January 2015). Beck argues that modern living must confront the unintended side effects of industrialism. Global risks are not simply problems that threaten the planet, but possible consequences of 'industrial, techno-economic decisions' that must be understood as potentially untameable.

The societies of modern nations rely on what Beck calls the 'risk contract', in which the state is supposed to protect its citizens. But the challenges of our times are such that retaining a purely national outlook results in 'organised irresponsibility'. To understand the world and construct institutions that actually work, it is not enough to explore it as it is. We have to envision what the 'metamorphosed world' it is likely to be.

Whatever happens in society, the innate (genetic) basis of our nature will not change significantly. So it important to have a realistic understanding of the way this affects our aggression and warlike tendencies, if the peace movement is to respond effectively to events. To what extent are we aggressive by nature?



CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

Fight or flight as responses to fear

In times of crisis and danger, our fears tend to increase and aggression becomes more likely. This may happen instinctively in the sense that we fight or flee. Or, depending on the situation, we might attempt to eliminate the threat by negotiation or the use non-violent means.

The question in point here is the extent to which the choice we make is instinctive – dependent on our genetic nature. When we are threatened do we revert (in some degree) from being loving and altruistic people and become instinctively self-seeking and aggressive. Such a notion runs contrary to the belief of many in the anti-war movement that sense and order will ultimately prevail because at heart human beings are innately non-violent.

In TAP 14.1, we challenged this belief with published evidence that war can produce positive change in some circumstances and has become embedded in our history. Christopher Coker, for example, argues that this sets the tone for the future and means that war will always be with us (*Can war be eliminated*, 2014).

Surprisingly, Michael Morpurgo echoed this when he gave the Movement for the Abolition of War's 2014 Remembrance Day lecture. In his opening remark to a largely peace-oriented audience at the Imperial War Museum, he said that it is self-evident that you cannot abolish war. There is a fault at the core of humanity that is potentially self-destructive – the evidence is all around us.

This is not what one would expect to hear in such a gathering and many anti-war activists would find it heretical. But such realism is necessary if our movement is to react effectively to Beck's 'metamorphosing world'. One can be optimistic about the possibility of progress in demilitarisation, and we do not have to accept that war between countries is inevitable; but to believe that our actions will create a non-militarised utopia before long is simply wishful thinking.

The movement's view relies on the Seville Statement, published some 30 years ago, which concluded that human beings are innately non-violent. This conclusion was always controversial and new evidence discussed by Avi Tuschman, in *Our political nature* (2013), is a deafening challenge. He argues that the 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.

'War is a child of ambivalence'

Fundamental to any society is its understanding of human nature. For thousands of years Judeo-Christian societies were based on the Bible, which held that human nature was flawed. The Enlightenment – and later liberalism – rejected this and asserted the essential goodness of human nature.

Thus, there have been two broad, sharply polarized views of the relationship between war and human nature. One is that war is human nature in the raw, stripped of the façade of contrived civility behind which we normally hide. The other is that war is nothing but a perversion of an essentially kind, compassionate, and sociable nature and that it is our culture; and not biology, which makes us so dangerous.

In fact, these images are oversimplifications: both are true, and both are false. Human beings are capable of almost unimaginable violence and cruelty towards one another, and there is increasing evidence from recent scientific research in genetics and psychology to show that this dogged aggressiveness is grounded in our DNA. But we are also very sociable, co-operative creatures with an elemental horror of shedding human blood, and this too, seems embedded in the core of human nature.

David Livingstone Smith in *The most dangerous animal* (2007) reviews the evidence and concludes that war is 'a child of ambivalence' with both of these forces working together. He says: 'The naturalness of war lies in its role as an innate, biologically based potential. Potentials are like coiled springs; they are events waiting to happen'.

Some scientists are now suggesting that lethal weapons have been a driving factor in human evolution and the development of civilization (Laura Spinney in *The human story* (Issue 4 of *New Scientist: The collection*). At the heart of this theory is a simple idea. Homo sapiens emerged from an ape ancestry involving a social hierarchy dominated physically by the alpha male. Then with hominid evolution, the invention of weapons that could kill at a distance meant that power became uncoupled from physical strength: so even a puny subordinate could now kill the alpha male. Those who wanted power were forced, therefore to obtain it by other means – persuasion, cunning, charm – and so begins the drive to cognitive attributes that make us human. This leads to the belief that we have inclinations to both hierarchical and egalitarian social structures, both of them evolving to bring order and stability.

Paul Bingham (*Death from a distance and the birth of a humane universe*, 2009) argues that, since humans are torn between hierarchical and anti-hierarchical instincts, open societies are always likely to be threatened by the forces of despotism. It boils down to whether a government can establish fear, rather than consensus as its basis.

John Marsh in *The liberal delusion* (2012) argues that the failings of human nature undermine the liberal view of society. Liberal humanism, the creed of our intellectuals is false, and what they devalue – religion, the family, morality and traditions – in fact play a key role in dealing with the instability caused by human selfishness and aggression. This follows from the general trend in scientific thinking but the case needs to be tempered because things are not that black and white.

On a grander scale, the discoveries also support the view that the 'liberal delusion' is damaging to the west's perspective on international relations (John Gray, *Prospect*, October 2014). The liberal belief that tyranny and empire are relics of past ethnic nationalism is fading; and the rise of militant religion as a factor in politics and war is but 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 to China.

Cowardice

The other instinctive response to danger is to flee, which holds an interesting tension with aggression. It is related to cowardice, a complex and surprisingly little researched subject. Chris Walsh who has just published *Cowardice: a brief history* (2014) believes his is the only book-length study on the subject. 'Coward' remains one of the English language's harshest epithets, but the meaning has become less clear. In Walsh's thoughtful book he draws on literature and films as well as military case law. He explores how the concept has evolved as a result of changes in the way societies understand morality, human nature, and the nature of war.

The book focuses most on the cowardice of soldiers in war and uses mainly US examples. He says: 'If it is a dangerous, harmful idea for those involved in national security, it is also a bracing one, too.' 'It pushes us to wonder what we should do, how we should act, and what it is we're so afraid of.' 'Cowardice can be a means of finding out what we value most.'

In international relations the fear of looking weak and cowardly can have catastrophic consequences. Walsh cites Adlai Stevenson advising John F Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis to offer some quid pro quo to the Soviet leaders if they would remove their missiles from the island. Most people in the room with him, Stevenson said: 'will probably consider me a coward for the rest of my life... but perhaps we need a coward in the room when we're talking about nuclear war'. It would be comforting



'Fundamental to any society is its understanding of human nature.'

'Cowardice can be a means of finding out what we value most.'

From fear to understanding

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, NAT REUSS

You and me we're on each other's side. — from the song
'Gunfight at the OK Corral' by Atlum Schema

I wonder when it was that you first encountered someone claiming to be a pacifist or learned about pacifism? Remarkably, or perhaps unremarkably — as it's usually people from the underside of life (those needing to find strategies to exist in unjust societies) who see more clearly how the world actually works — I first heard the word 'pacifist' spoken by an Aboriginal Australian whilst in the queue of a fried-chicken shop.

Although young at the time, I remember the occasion vividly. The man was asked if he was going to join a self-defence class; and his response was to turn down the suggestion on the grounds that he was a pacifist. I had no idea what that meant

at the time, and I don't know why that memory has stayed with me? That someone whose people have known such great violence, would renounce all forms of violence even in the name of self defence!

Maybe the memory has lingered because the encounter was so rare. The number of Aboriginal Australians I knew could be counted on one hand. Some came to the rectory where I grew up for assistance while others were often the subject of verbal abuse, which sometimes led to scuffles and violence. Life was very binary — an 'us' (whites) and 'them' mentality seemed to

pervade all discourse, whilst meaningful relations enabling dialogue were non-existent. Or it could have been because I was inadvertently being introduced to another way of living by someone whose community was often feared and people tragically seen as second rate.

The area where I grew up was home to the Kerrupjмара people before the European invasion. This brought 20 years of war between the Europeans and Aboriginals in this locality. Finally, reserves or missions were built to contain the Kerrupjмара people in their ancestral home but preventing them from practising their culture or speaking their language. The Half-Caste Act of 1886 enabled the removal of non-full-blood Aboriginals from the mission. The mission was disbanded in the 1950's and in the 1980's, when I lived in the area, some Aboriginals still lived around the historic area which is now under Native Title, whilst the Mission Church was destroyed and its stone used to pave cow yards.

As has been the experience of many Australians, the school curriculum was conspicuous by its absence of any subject matter relating to the frontier wars. It was commonly and falsely held that Europeans arrived and the Aboriginals meekly moved aside whilst courageous European explorers surveyed and settled this new found land. We weren't taught about the fear that Europeans had towards the indigenous communities or the frontier wars or the way Aboriginal women and girls were raped and murdered by white settlers. And yet, despite years of oppression and violence to another race of people, here I was in a chicken shop, learning a new word — 'pacifist' — from a man whose people had known so much violence and who had clearly had enough.

The theme for this edition of TAP is built around the notion of violence and the degree to which it is innate in the human experience or culturally determined. From my experiences in rural Australia and in researching the history of the European invasion, I would certainly say that fear is part of the human condition and that there were also social factors, including both erroneous Biblical and evolutionary theories that have existed since colonial settlement which together collaborated to enflame that fear.

The Biblical narrative reveals fear, flight and fight as part of the fallen human condition right from the opening pages. The

creation story is marked by fear following Adam and Eve's deception, '...they hid from the Lord God among the trees of the Garden.' (Gen. 3:8). Whilst only one generation later, we have the first murder as Abel is made a scapegoat by Cain in response to his anger and jealousy.

Jesus comes and uncovers similar feelings of fear within his disciples in their attitude towards the Samaritans in Luke 9:54. The Samaritans in this account, did not receive Jesus, so in response James and John ask Jesus, 'Lord, do you want us to tell fire to come down from heaven and consume them?' Jesus rebukes them for their attitude. Later, we find the way for Jesus' followers, and, importantly in the context of Jesus' mission, redeem the world, attitudes to violence are front and centre. This is particularly so when we consider Jesus' response during his questioning by Pilate: 'My kingdom is not of this world. If it were, my servants would fight to prevent my arrest by the Jewish leaders. But now my kingdom is from another place.' (John 18:36). Jesus' Kingdom doesn't know binary thinking of 'us' versus 'them'. Indeed it is a community made up of former enemies for the love of God knows no such boundaries: for 'He causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous.' (Matt. 5:45).

Every time we place our trust in weapons we reject Jesus and His Kingdom of Heaven, present to us now, and we place our lives with the Barrabases of this world who see the world through the binary eyes of 'us' versus 'them'.

But can Jesus' message make any difference at all? Well, even in the midst of war where binary thinking reaches its most destructive ends, nuances of commonality and compassion have broken through. During the Christmas truce of 1914, British and German soldiers along hundreds of miles of the Western Front, remarkably and astoundingly, climbed out of their protective trenches to greet the 'other' in an acknowledgement of their common humanity at the time of our Saviour's Birth. To the sound of 'Silent Night' 'Stille Nacht' binary thinking of 'us' and 'them' dissolved in the exchanging of gifts and playing football, revealing that the 'others' who we are told are our enemies are in fact, no different to ourselves: same hopes, same dreams, same loves, same desire to return home and to be safe.

'Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword' (Matt 26:52).'



This word is still suspended like a sword
Above our heads, who have refused to hear it,
Too sharp and clear for us, too bright and hard,
Too close to home for anyone to bear it.
Our swords are long since beaten, not to ploughshares,
But into guns and tanks and bombs and planes,
And darker weapons still, and hidden fears,
And still the sword of Damocles remains.
What would it take to turn us to your wisdom,
Make us pursue the things that make for peace?
A radical conversion to your kingdom,
A casting out of fear, a deep release
Of trust and hope, until that prayer is true;
'None other fighting for us, only you'.

The above is a new unpublished poem by APF member, Malcolm Guite. We include a brief review of *The singing bowl*, one of his published collections, on page 12.

'I first heard
the word
'pacifist'
spoken by
an Aboriginal
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whilst in the
queue of a
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'Keep the awkward questions coming'

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

?

What percentage of people in UK do you think would say 'Yes' to the question 'If there were a war that involved your country, would you be willing to fight?' And how would their view differ from people in France, Israel, Russia or the USA? Turn to page 6 to see. If you would like to comment about how accurate you were and offer an explanation for any of the results, please let me know and we could put something in the next issue of TAP.

The power of biographical stories

As I collected information together for this issue with its focus on Germany, I was reminded forcibly about a book I read as a child. We had just a handful of books in my family home and I read it quite a few times. Based on entries made in a diary during the years 1915-18, *The army behind barbed wire: a Siberian diary* by Edwin Erich Dwinger is not a narrative of battles, but about the backyards of war and those who died without their names being mentioned in casualty lists. This true story recounts the experiences of a young German cavalryman who was captured and held as prisoner of war in Russia during the WWI. Reading this again, I realise just how anti-war and pacifist it is. There was no glory for those dying of starvation, cold or disease after enduring years of torment in Siberia, but the individual humanity shines through in places.

This may well have affected the way my beliefs have developed and I understand so well Joanne Bourke's point (see opening article) and our chair's reflection (previous page) that it is the stories of individuals that affect us most. I too have seen the film 'Fury' which Sue Claydon reviews in Film Look (page 9) and recall that amidst all the killing, at the very end, where an SS soldier shines his flashlight on the lone survivor of the battle cowering under a tank – and, without shooting, turns and walks away.

Art (defined in its widest sense) reinforces these individual stories; which is why we devote so much space to it in TAP.

Stealing the meaning of song

Talking about music, you may remember that there was an outcry around Remembrance time about the British Legion's use of the song Willie McBride (also called The Green Fields of France) by Eric Bogle, one of our best-known anti-war songs. Joss Stone was filmed singing it among the poppies outside the Tower of London, but missing the vital verses that condemned war – a travesty of art. The peace movement called for an apology and, in the end, Bogle accepted the situation in good grace.



Elsie Hinkes, with Sue Gilmurray carrying the cross, on the march to 'Wrap up Trident' on 24 January. Protestors encircled government and parliamentary buildings with a peace scarf knitted by thousands of people.



Eric Bogle

Interestingly, I noticed a similar occurrence when visiting the Military Museum at Waiorou, New Zealand. Here in a film shown to visitors, Bogle's song 'Waltzing Matilda' about the Gallipoli landings had been censored and missing the essential final verse: 'The old men march slowly, old bones stiff and sore; tired old men from a forgotten war. The young people ask: "What are they marching for?" and I asked myself the same question.'

Armistice Day at Worcester Cathedral Lest we forget: lessons from the past... are they wasted on us today

I do quite a number of talks to school groups and other people

and mention here one that has stuck in my mind. It involved some 80 sixth form students who attended a discussion in the cathedral and then took part in the Act of Remembrance outside at the War Memorial. A novel form of interactive debate was used. Students were invited to text



View from the speakers panel

questions alongside the live discussion, which were displayed on a screen for both the audience and the panel to see. The students used the phones to send the questions.

With me on the panel were Major General Tim Cross who saw active service in Bosnia and was the most senior officer in rebuilding Iraq – he is on record as saying that the US post-invasion plan was 'fatally flawed' – and The Revd Dr Michael Brierley, Canon of the cathedral.

It is interesting how much the Ukraine conflict figured during the questions. Some sixth formers wanted to know whether the conflict in East Ukraine might develop into a series of 1914-style miscalculations leading to escalation in the conflict. While others commented to the lack of relevance of WWI to what was happening in the world today – nuclear weapons, terrorism, cyber-attacks and little or no conscription. But all of on the panel registered the feeling that the students were worried about their future.

'It is the stories
of individuals
that affect
us most.'

The New Year, bringing many global uncertainties and as we move a minute closer to Apocalypse

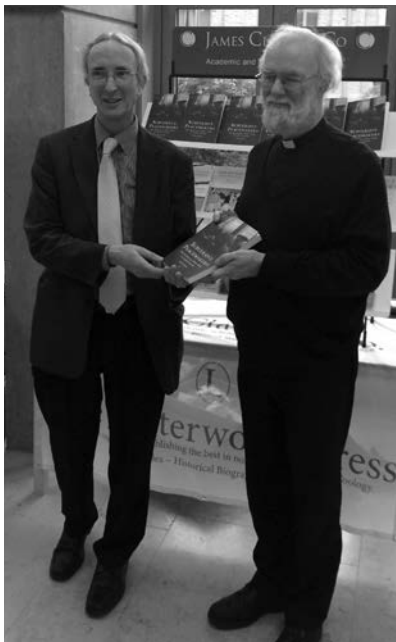
The symbolic clock has moved to three minutes to midnight – two minutes closer since the last time it changed in 2012 – the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists announced on 22 January. We have not been as close to apocalypse since 1953 when the USA and USSR were brandishing their hydrogen bombs. The organisations statement says that ‘unchecked climate change and a nuclear arms race resulting from modernisation of huge arsenals pose extraordinary and undeniable threats to the continued existence of humanity’. Kennette Benedict, the executive director, said.

‘World leaders have failed to act with speed or on the scale required to protect citizens from potential catastrophe.’ Then, there are the specificities. At the beginning of 2015, the world remains full of open wounds and crises. Some crises are familiar or have gone on for years, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Iran nuclear conundrum or Syria’s devastating civil war. Others are of a more surprising nature, or at least would have been difficult to predict at the outset of 2014. Who would have guessed that a year ago, Russia would have annexed Crimea? Or that North Korea would have cyber-attacked Sony?

Some changes were nevertheless foreseen. The Western withdrawal from Afghanistan had been clearly signalled. But who would have anticipated that 2014 would see the US launch a new war in Iraq as it tries to quell a new jihadi insurgency with wide international implications?

Fellowship of Reconciliation conference at Magdalene College, Cambridge

Several APF members went to FoR’s centenary conference in Cambridge. This was a stimulating event. Rowan Williams gave the keynote speech and an interfaith panel session examined different attitudes to peace and war. Panel members were Rabbi Marc Saperstein, Dr Marcus Braybrooke, Dr Zaza Johnson Elsheikh and Lelung Tulk. Sue Gilmurray and I opened the morning and afternoon session with peace songs, and our counsellor Clive Barrett took the opportunity to present Rowan with a copy of his new book, *Subversive peacemakers*.

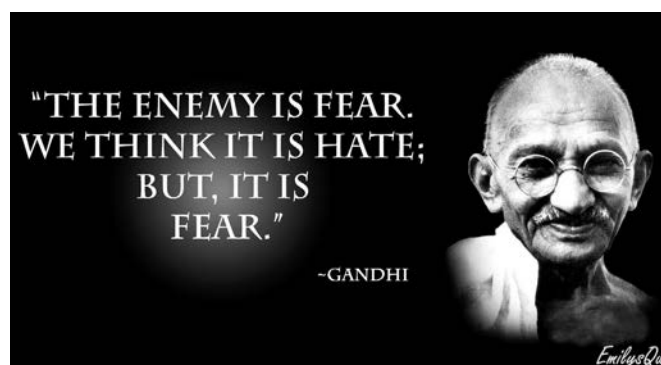


Charlie Hebdo: ‘keep the awkward questions coming’

This is a controversial issue and much has been written about it in the past weeks by columnists presenting a variety of views, and some seemingly looking for different angles to pursue. But it is clear that asking who is directly to blame for Charlie Hebdo and explaining why it happens are two different things. As we saw vividly that morning, continued violence in the region has international consequences. Six wars in the Middle East and North Africa – Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia and Libya – provide an ideal breeding ground for attacks like

those in Paris. It is inevitable that sparks from these conflicts land in western Europe and other parts of the world. But it was Rowan Williams’ article in *The Tablet* (17 January 2015) who touched the spot for me. He said: ‘Once we have started coming to terms with the shock and justified fury... there are two large ironies we ought to think about if we are to have any hope of responding in a way that might change anything.’ The first is the curious blasphemy of proclaiming that ‘God is great’ as some kind of rationale for this sort of butchery. A God who needs to be defended by human beings in a state of murderous and paranoid hysteria does not come across as great. If God is as Christians, Jews, Muslims and all the historic faiths actually say he is, it is not necessary for him to be threatened. For us to act in a way that suggests God is so weak that hard words or mocking pictures can hurt or turn him from his nature and purpose is the height of nonsense.

The second irony is that, as we all know, the price paid in responding to terror is almost always curtailment of our liberty in the name of security. One of the ways in which terrorist violence can succeed is that it will push us just a fraction further towards the same longing for a controlled and risk-free environment. This is to be avoided.



He concluded by saying if we want a press (including a satirical press) that will keep the awkward questions coming – for the sake of a critical and honest society that gives voice to everyone – we have to accept the problem. But we need also to ask how we build alliances that will shift things that will genuinely offer the victims of tyranny or terror – the possibility of political change. That and not a longing for grand gestures, is what is most needed in the wake of the Paris atrocities.

‘Hopeless to help in this violence, this crisis’ A response to the French shootings: 7-9 January 2015 Words for a hymn by © Andrew Pratt

These words were written in immediate response to the ‘Charlie Hebdo’ shootings and sieges in Paris. However, Andrew Pratt’s reference to the three Abrahamic faiths speaks not only on this occasion, and its stated cause; it also reminds us of the many countries and violent situations in our modern world in which the causes of religion are invoked as the inspiration for human actions and policies – often at the expense of those with other beliefs.

Hopeless to help in this violence, this crisis,
here in the focus of bloodshed and fear,
common humanity binds us together,
love at the centre, not hatred’s veneer.

Jewish and Christian and Muslim together,
all the world’s people, we each have a place.
Love is our purpose when those filled with hatred
break down relationships, nullify grace.

Give me your hand, then let peace grow between us,
let us build what distrust might destroy.
Now in this moment we’ll make a commitment,
love is the weapon we’ll use and deploy.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

It is 3 minutes to midnight



‘World leaders have failed to act with speed or on the scale required.’

Yea – nay and Mutti

Would you fight for your country?

The answer to this question both for the UK and other countries is important if we are to keep abreast of anti-war thinking and have information to use in talks and answer queries. The Win/Gallup International's global End of Year survey provides some information. Since this year marks the centenary of the start of WWI, the following question has been included: *If there were a war that involved [name of your country], would you be willing to fight for your country?*

Globally, 60% said that they would be willing to take up arms for their country while 27% would not be willing. Western Europe proved the region most reticent to fighting for their country with just 25% saying that they would fight while about half (53%) stated that they would not fight. This contrasts sharply with people from the Arab countries of Middle East and North Africa who are the most likely to be willing to fight for their countries (77%) followed by those living in Asia (71%).

44% of respondents in the USA said they would fight for their country whereas the figure was just 27% in the UK, 29% in France and 18% in Germany. Despite being widely recognised for their neutrality, 39% of people from Switzerland said that they would be prepared to go to war for their country. It was the Italians who proved to be least willing to bear arms for their country with 68% revealing they would refuse to do so.

So just one in four British people would be willing to fight for their country. We can only speculate on this, but it may reflect to some extent on the abortive wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, or perhaps the high immigrant population.

The results for some key countries are as follows (%)
(The percentages of 'don't knows' are not shown.)

	Yes	No
UK	27	51
Australia	30	43
Brazil	48	44
China	71	23
Denmark	37	37
France	29	44
Germany	18	62
Israel	66	13
Japan	10	43
Poland	47	34
Russia	59	20
Sweden	55	15
USA	44	31

The results are from a large study involving 64,000 people globally. A representative sample of 1000 men and women was interviewed in each country, most face to face and others by telephone or online. The replies relate to the period September to December 2014. The margin of error for the responses is 3 to 5% at 95% confidence level.

Although these results are difficult to interpret, it is clear that large differences in attitude exist. This suggests that campaigns to reduce militarism and encourage war resistance need to be global and include particularly countries like China and Russia.

Full regional results can be found at http://www.wingia.com/en/survey/end_of_year_survey/

The woman of our times

For her central role in preserving European stability at a time of resurgent Russian aggression, Angela Merkel has been named *The Times's* Person of the Year. *The Times* says in a leading article 'She is the pre-eminent European politician and the world's most powerful woman.'

The German chancellor, was chosen principally for taking control of the west's fraught negotiations with President Putin after his annexation of Crimea. She has shown herself to be an indispensable power broker in a year when east-west relations have been tested to breaking point. Initially inclined to avoid confrontation with Moscow, Mrs Merkel has become a strong proponent of the sanctions that are forcing Russia to acknowledge the high cost of its military manoeuvres in Ukraine.



The contrast between Merkel and Putin could not be sharper. There is the Russian man: macho, militarist, practitioner of the Soviet-style big lie, a resentful post-imperial nationalist who in a recent press conference compared Russia to an embattled bear. Here the German woman: gradualist, quietly plain-speaking, consensus-building, strongest on economic power, patiently steering a slow moving, sovereignty-sharing, multinational tortoise.

However, it is important to note that the deepening economic crisis, partly caused by the sanctions will not necessarily translate into more accommodating policy. The cornered bear may still lash out. In the bloodied fields of Eastern Ukraine, there is still the risk of a series of 1914-style miscalculations leading to an escalation.

Merkel is not popular in all countries because of her strong stance on austerity. Although she desperately wants Greece to remain part of the EU story, she makes it clear that solidarity is a two-way street. Cash support for Athens is tied to progress in its agenda of painful reforms, including higher sales taxes and lower state pensions. It will be interesting now to see how things turn out with a new Greek government dominated by the far-left party, Syriza. Some are critical of her handling of the Eurozone crisis.

Update on Peace Balls to Africa

Cloud Mabaudi from Zimbabwe reports that the latest 20 balls have been distributed to youth clubs, churches, hospitals and people living with HIV. They were received with much enthusiasm and he would very much like to have more. They have provided him with a breakthrough: he says 'I am not receiving any challenges'. This probably means that the peace message in such a welcome form does not arouse opposition. Here he is with two representatives of the social club of Banket's District Hospital, to whom he is given peace footballs.



'She is the pre-eminent European politician and the world's most powerful woman.'

Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Karen Armstrong (2014)

Fields of blood

The Bodley Head

Religions and their followers are inherently violent – or so the popular atheist claim goes. But here Karen Armstrong argues that the true reasons for war and violence in our history often had little to do with religion.

She says that human beings have always had a natural propensity for aggression. Yet military violence and social oppression actually emerged when the invention of agriculture created a society based upon the accumulation of wealth. For most of history this destructive potential could be contained but with industrialised warfare and the all-powerful modern state, humanity is on the brink of destroying itself.

Taking us on a journey from prehistoric times to the present, Armstrong contrasts medieval crusaders and modern-day jihadists with the pacifism of the Buddha and Jesus's vision.

The thesis that religion is more prone to inspiring violence than, say, a belief in racial purity is a patent straw man, although the depredations of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State have given it fresh legs. In this sense, Armstrong's book is timely. But it is also rather a mess. Anyone wanting a provocative and sophisticated attempt to show that secular values such as liberty and enlightenment are as liable to foster warfare as religion should read William T Cavanaugh's recent *The myth of religious violence*.

Rather, it is that militarisation has used religion to encourage conflict. It is about an ideological arms race. Christianity, far from gelding the Roman Empire, as Gibbon argued, in fact gave it the self-assurance to survive far longer than it might otherwise have done. Islam, by militarising Christian notions such as martyrdom and spiritual struggle, then helped the Arabs forge the largest empire that world had ever known.

Yuval Noah Harari (2014)

Sapiens: a brief history of humankind

Harvill Secker

100,000 years ago, at least six human species inhabited the earth. Today there is just one – us – Homo sapiens.

How did our species succeed in the battle for dominance? Why did our foraging ancestors come together to create cities and kingdoms? How did we come to believe in gods, nations and human rights: to trust money, books and laws; and to be enslaved by bureaucracy, consumerism and the pursuit of happiness? And what will our world be like in the millennia to come. Yuval Harari attempts to answer such questions in relatively simple terms. He argues that:

Fire gave us power

Gossip helped cooperate

Agriculture made us hungry for more

Mythology maintained law and order

Money gave us something we can really trust

Contradictions created culture

Science made us deadly

But he points out that we carry in our genes, some worrying characteristics. For millions of



years, humans hunted smaller creatures and gathered what they could, all the while being hunted by larger predators. It was only 400,000 years ago that several species of man began hunting on a regular basis, and only in the last 100,000 years – with the rise of *Homo sapiens* – that man jumped to the top of the food chain. This is key to understanding our history and psychology.

That spectacular leap from the middle to the top had enormous consequences. Other animals at the top of the pyramid, such as lions and sharks, evolved into that position very gradually over millions of years. This enabled the ecosystem to develop checks that prevent lions and sharks from wreaking havoc. In contrast humans ascended to the top so quickly that the ecosystem was not given time to adjust.

Moreover, humans themselves failed to adjust. Most top predators are majestic creatures. Millions of years of dominion have filled them with self-confidence. *Sapiens* by contrast is more like a banana republic dictator. Having so recently been one of the underdogs of the savannah, we are full of fears and anxieties over our position, which makes us cruel and dangerous. Many historical calamities, from deadly wars to ecological catastrophes, have resulted from this over-hasty jump.

Neil MacGregor (2014)

Germany: memories of a nation

Allen Lane

For the past 140 years, Germany has been the central power in Europe. Twenty-five years ago a new German state came into being. How much do we understand this new Germany, and how much do its people understand themselves? Neil MacGregor argues that, uniquely for any European country, no coherent, overarching narrative of Germany's history can be constructed, for in Germany both geography and history have always been unstable. Its frontiers have constantly floated. Königsberg, home to the greatest German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, is now Kaliningrad, Russia; Strasbourg, in whose cathedral Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Germany's greatest writer, discovered the distinctiveness of his country's art and history, now lies within the borders of France. For most of the 500 years covered by this book, Germany has been composed of many separate political units, each with a distinct history. And any comfortable

national story Germans might have told themselves before 1914 was destroyed by the events of the following 30 years.

German history may be inherently fragmented, but it contains a large number of widely shared memories, awareness and experiences; examining some of these is the purpose of this book. Beginning with the 15th century invention of modern printing by Gutenberg, MacGregor chooses objects and ideas, people and places which still resonate in the new Germany – porcelain from Dresden and rubble from its ruins, Bauhaus design and the German sausage,



the crown of Charlemagne and the gates of Buchenwald – to show something of its collective imagination.

MacGregor is an engaging guide and has written a remarkable set of reflections on the objects and places of German memory. But some lovers of German music might regret that it has a surprisingly small place although a major contribution to world culture.

We consider one of these artefacts in *The Art of Peace* on page 12.

Jim Forest (2014)

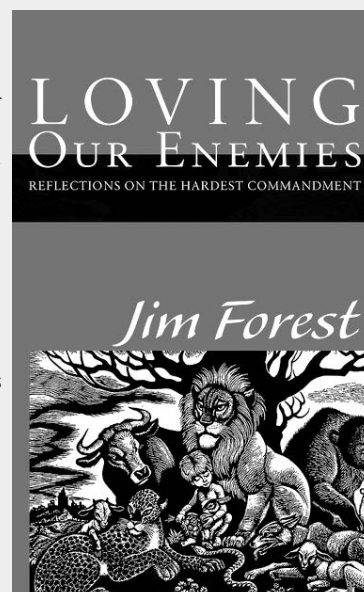
Loving our enemies: reflections on the hardest commandment

Orbis books

This is the latest of many books which bring together the reflections that peel back all the ideologies we Christians rely on to justify violence and war and reveal the peace that lies at the heart of the gospel. Jim Forest brings a lifetime of prayer and working for peace,

teaching and writing about non-violence. He shows how the pursuit of holiness can change lives and events, and thus point to the day when God will restore the unity of all humanity. He does this with skill and wisdom.

It is a book that all Christian peacemakers should read.



DIARY OF EVENTS

► LOCAL AND NATIONAL

18 February Ash Wednesday, annual service of Repentance and Resistance to nuclear weapons preparations at the MoD. Contact: Pax Christi on 020 8203 4884.

19 February Network for Peace AGM and discussion on campaigning on WWI. 13.30 Friends House, Euston Road, London All welcome. Contact: 07794 036602.

2 March Burghfield Lockdown. Mass demonstration at AWE, Burghfield. mobilise@actionawe.org or 01547 20929. Pax Christi is organising a faith gate presence (020 8203 4884).

4 March Week of Prayer for World Peace (WPWP) AGM. 12.30 at the London Interfaith Centre, 125 Salusbury Rd, West Kilburn, NW6 6RG. (020 7604 3053).

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 prevention of war. If you have any ideas or would like to discuss this further please contact the Secretary (details below).

Call for interviewees to contribute to oral history

Please note the call (details on page 10) for people who were engaged in anti-nuclear weapon campaigning in the 1950s.

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

Chairperson: The Revd Nat Reuss

nathanaelreuss@gmail.com

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Bridge House, Whittlesey Road, March, Cambridgeshire, PE15 0AH 013546 54214 sue.claydon@tesco.net.

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

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

Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray

13 Danesway, Pinhoe, Exeter EX4 9ES 01392 464982 suegilmurray@icloud.com

14 March Musical Protest – no more arms fairs. At the ExCel Centre. Email: elaaf@hotmail.co.uk.

11 to 18 October Week of Prayer for World Peace.

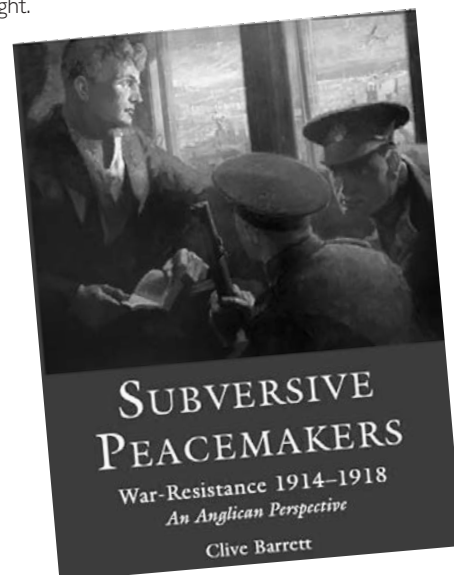
21 March Britain's role in a changing world. Uniting for Peace AGM and Spring Conference. 10.30 at Wesley's Chapel, 49 City Road, London. Contact: vijay@ympeace.org and 020 8203 4884.

April 17 to 19 Fellowship of Reconciliation annual conference. More details to follow. Contact: 01865 250781.

17 October WPWP National Service. Hosted by Brahma Kumaris. 2.30 at the Global Co-operation House, 65-69 Pond Lane, London NW10 2HH. (020 8727 3350).

Subversive Peacemakers: war-resistance 1914-1918

by APF counsellor Clive Barrett's was published in October. 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.



You can buy it direct for £10 post paid UK. Overseas £18 post paid. Send a Sterling cheque made out to 'Anglican Pacifist Fellowship', Address: Treasurer APF, 33 Glynswood, Chinnor, OX39 4JE. UK. Or use the DONATION page on the website to make a payment and request via PAYPAL.

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, 13 Danesway, Pinhoe, Exeter EX4 9ES.**

☐ **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

It is always difficult to choose which films to include on this page because there are so many relevant to our anti-war interests. But the two here are of special interest. The review of 'Fury' is by Sue Claydon, our vice-chair which touches on her father's experience in WW2. The other film, based on Testament of Youth by Vera Brittain, as judged by her mother, Baroness Williams.

Testament of youth (2014)

Directed by James Kent

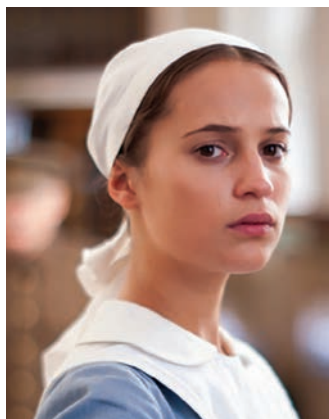
Most of our readers will be familiar with the story of Vera Brittain and would almost certainly judge the film's quality with this in mind. But the best person to comment is her daughter, Shirley Williams. As her mother's literary executor together with Mark Bostridge (Brittain's biographer), had ultimate veto when Heyday Films asked for the rights. So this little review is based on things she has said in interviews.



Williams was very unhappy when she saw the first draft of the script: 'It didn't make enough of my mother's ambition to be a writer, and it didn't reflect her commitment to become and opponent of wars in the future. The temptation to make a Hollywood romantic box-office success was very great. And that was the last thing on earth that I wanted because she would have been furious. It would have been a betrayal of her.

So words were said and the romance with Roland Leighton was de-cheesed. But some dramatic licence was allowed, for example the placement of Vera's future husband George Catlin far earlier in her life than he actually appeared and, most contrived of all, her discovery of her husband Edward's still breathing body in fresh heap of corpses.

But the element Williams misses most is any allusion to Edward's passionate musicianship. 'It is the artefact that was perhaps the most important part of him'. Another treasured memento is a copy of the Gestapo blacklist – she a vocal pacifist, he a leading political scientist – were the only non-Jewish couple to feature on it. What Williams really admires about the film is the friendships and the sense of a young woman's pioneering struggle for gender equality, plus the later glimpses of her internationalism. Brittain took the story of *Testament of youth* deep into the 1920s to portray her growing conviction that



Great War should also be the last war. She is also aware, of course, that her mother's pacifism is not fashionable, and some columnists have given her stance a

kicking as her story returns to national attention. 'I didn't agree with my mother about that. I concluded that Hitler was so evil that you could not stop him even with the most dedicated pacifism – he would have shot Gandhi. The film is given a definite green light by Williams particularly since 'it portrays a woman who was incredibly honest. She never softened the truth. Nor did she exaggerate it.'

Detail taken from an interview that Shirley Williams gave to Jasper Rees (The Spectator, 17 January 2015).

Vera Brittain turned to pacifism in an attempt to give meaning to the deaths of her fiancé, two male friends and her brother. Sue Gilmurray has written a tribute song for her. The words are on the APF website www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk in the Resources section. A recording of Sue performing the song can be heard and downloaded at <http://www.soundcloud.com/mightierpen/>.

Fury (2014)

Directed by David Ayre

'War' films are not normally something I make any effort to see. With, 'Fury', however, I did. Set in April 1945, the American Second Armoured Division is part of the final push into the heartland of Germany. The film focuses on a battle hardened tank crew. Having lost a driver, a new 'green' recruit is sent to take his place. Brad Pitt (Don 'Wardaddy' Collier) plays the battle hardened

Sargent and Logan Leman (Norman Ellison) the naïve newcomer.

Twenty minutes into the film I thought I had made a big mistake in coming. The graphic scenes of human remains, injuries and the devastated countryside were the most realistic I had seen on the big screen. In one shot, the tanks are rolling along country/village roads. Bodies are hanging from trees and lampposts. Pitt's character is fluent in German and when the young rookie asks what the sign around one woman's neck says, he translates 'I am a coward and would not let my children fight'. The SS was making a desperate last stand and their terrorising of local people, including getting children into uniform and arming them is depicted in a number of scenes.

I held on but just over half way through I finally lost it and tears flowed. What was it that made me so emotional? It was actually one of the least brutal/explicit scenes. The tanks are heading north through the countryside. Pitt and Leman are riding in the open top. To their right is a forest and beyond that the sky is black for miles with smoke. Leman asks, 'What's that?' Pitt replies with a line I had heard almost word for word for decades. Pitt says 'That's a whole city burning'. I had heard my Dad say the same line – 'It was Koln burning, even so far away the sparks were still flying and I had the men cover the tanks'. You see my Father was in the 2nd Armoured. Throughout the movie every time Pitt's left shoulder came into view there was the triangle I remember from my Dad.

While some have described *Fury* as a 'action thriller' – and there is no question that there is plenty of action – to me it is an anti-war film. It takes the whole depiction of what war is to a level few movies have. Yes, there is a bit of 'Hollywood' in the final scene and the characters sometimes are a bit unbelievable but I came away with a better understanding of what my Dad must have experienced and why like many ordinary men who would not in their 'normal' lives hurt anyone never recovered from what they experienced. He also told us the now rather hackneyed phrase 'War is hell', but said it with an utmost conviction.



Sharing wealth and history

Economic growth as a cause of military conflict

Following our policy of offering impartial discussion and inviting debate, Maurice Vassey offers this response to the recent editorials on armed intervention. He says 'as a member of the APF and York Against the War (an anti-war organisation), I do not feel that they have addressed the anti-war position on armed intervention adequately. My views are shared by many in our group, which includes Quakers and apolitical academics.'

In a world where politics has moved progressively away from principle and towards popularism the profession by attention seeking statesmen of humanitarian credentials becomes increasingly difficult to stomach, and not simply by those you choose to categorise in editorials as 'the anti-war movement'. There is as you have rightly pointed out nothing new in politicians seeking to profit electorally from military expeditions. What grates in the 21st century is that such action is being couched in terms of 'bleeding heart' humanitarianism and taken against a background free from any evidence of diplomatic initiative and non-military intervention. It may be – as the Israel/Palestine conflict suggest – that contemporary statesmen and state departments are ill-equipped to produce diplomatic solutions; or, as many in the 'anti-war' movement suspect, the statesmen lack the frankness of Lord Palmerston, who as Foreign Secretary in the 19th century could say repeatedly to the House of Commons that 'the interests of the United Kingdom were the principles on which our foreign policy was based.'

It is now generally understood that when a politician calls for intervention in a foreign conflict or in the internal affairs of other states, what he or she means is armed intervention. The action called for meets Just War criteria in that it is always taken when the conflict has reached the stage of last resort. The news media has made the public aware that civil conflict has moved from discrimination and police heavy-handedness, which rarely makes our headlines, to escalating bloodshed. Ideally from the point of view of statesmen advocating armed re-action, the conflict will involve a dictator, a bogey-man. What is habitually glossed over is the failure to intervene at an earlier stage by peaceful means, when the discrimination was known to diplomats and contested vocally and legally.

We none of us need instructing that war is commonly occasioned by the desire to re-allocate resources more fairly in the eyes of one of the disputing parties. It is not possible to separate human rights issues concerning the victims of the violence from the issue of the world economy, which impacts on the economy of all states. The problems caused by the failings of the global economy cannot be reduced to accusations of US imperialism which as you correctly comment some in the anti-war movement believe; but they are the product of the egregious failures of 21st century capitalism.

The major world economic powers are agreed on and committed to a policy of economic growth as a measure of governmental achievement. This is politically attractive since it enables ministers to convey to their electorate an intention to work towards an increase in the value of the national financial cake of which all can expect to receive a share. Since growth in the economy of individual states or ethnic groups is essentially competitive in a world with finite resources, resolving inter-communal conflicts requires a new, alternative measure of governmental achievement to GDP. It requires those statesmen keen to show their humanitarianism to create a measure of good government that reflects the overriding value of human rights.

As R.H.Tawney wrote in in the 1920s (Religion and the rise of capitalism p253): 'The quality in modern society most sharply opposed to the teaching of Jesus is that the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavour and the final criterion of success.' As Christians if we want to will

the removal of the factors that lead to inter-communal conflict, we have to will the means: - the creation of a new measure of human wellbeing that is distinct from increase in material riches. The APF no less than the anti-war movement needs to be engaging with the work of philosophers and economists like Vandana Shiva, Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen.

'Voices of nuclear politics in the 1950s'

Call for interviewees to contribute to oral history

Jessica Douthwaite, a PhD student, is working on a collaborative project between the Imperial War Museum and University of Strathclyde. She is researching the general public's experiences of nuclear issues during the Cold War in the 1950s through a series of oral history interviews.

One main aim of this project is to interview people who were active in anti-nuclear, anti-deterrence or pro-peace campaigning in the 1950s. The interviews will focus on people's experience of this time, whether campaigning, or simply stating their views as citizens, and how they felt towards the Cold War and the threat of nuclear attack. In particular, it is hoped that campaigners with a religious background will share their memories.

The interviews will form a comparative study that focuses on the everyday lives of people living through the Cold War rather than on government and military policy. Other groups being interviewed include civil defence volunteers and civic societies. Oral history interviews offer a valuable way in which to capture different local and community views on the Cold War and will make an important new contribution to conventional histories of the period.



Please respond to this advert if you feel that you could share your memories of 1950s anti-nuclear campaigning. Oral history interviews are completely voluntary, your participation would be recorded and if consented to, this recording would be placed in the Imperial War Museum and the University of Strathclyde sound archives. The interview is carried out at a location and time of your preference, and at any point you can decide to pause or stop the recording.

If you were engaged in nuclear politics in the 1950s, or know someone who was, and would like to volunteer to be interviewed please get in touch with Jessica at the details below.

The Imperial War Museum holds the largest oral history collection of its type in the world, with contributions from both service personnel and non-combatants. The Scottish Oral History Centre based at the University of Strathclyde conducts research, training and outreach in oral history in the academic community, consistently encouraging best practice across projects through its expertise.

Please email, write to, or call Jessica Douthwaite at:

Jessica.douthwaite@strath.ac.uk

Sound Archive, IWM, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ
0750 112 3327

‘War is commonly occasioned by the desire to re-allocate resources more fairly in the eyes of one of the disputing parties.’

to think there were someone like Stevenson around today, when Russia and the west are once again at loggerheads. Walsh quotes Mark Twain's abortive attempt to join the Confederate forces in the American civil war because many of his compatriots refused to get involved as soon as serious danger loomed. Twain commented: 'The human race is a race of cowards, and I am not only marching in that procession but carrying a banner'. Twain's view seems to be that cowardice can be virtuous if it leads to surrendering to fear in a battle that is not worth fighting. By the same token, people can inflict reckless harm on themselves and others simply for fear of being shamed as cowards

What do we mean by 'evil'?

Western leaders commonly declare that our enemies are evil. Barack Obama vows to destroy IS's 'brand of evil' and David Cameron declares that it is an 'evil organisation'. They are echoing Tony Blair's judgment of Saddam Hussein who in his view was 'uniquely evil'.

Such usage raises arguments about the meaning of the word because it does evoke the spectre of Ian Anderson's 'beastie',

something that may be diabolical in the biblical sense. But it is a dangerous oversimplification to believe that some people are innately evil. This notion has fuelled many wars and conflicts. It makes groups believe that they

are fighting a just cause against the 'evil' enemy and that once the 'evil' people have been killed, peace and goodness will reign supreme. Blair ignored his advisors about the invasion of Iraq on this point and one might say that he fell foul of the liberal delusion.

A commonly accepted view is that 'evil' people lack empathy. They can't sense the emotions or the suffering of other human beings and may consequently see them simply as objects, which makes their brutality and cruelty possible. But this too is rather simplistic because empathy is not a fixed characteristic; some psychopaths can turn empathy on and off at will. And interestingly there is some recent research indicating that stress can lead to lowered empathy (not only in humans but also in mice!).

The complexity of human nature makes it difficult to make judgments. 'Good' and 'evil' are relative - one person's 'good' is another person's 'evil'. They are also flexible. Sometimes we may behave badly, when egocentric impulses cause us to put our needs before the welfare of others. Sometimes we behave in a saintly fashion, when empathy and compassion impel us to put the needs of others before our own, resulting in altruism and kindness. As Alexander Solzhenitsyn writes in *The Gulag Archipelago* (his experience of Siberian labour camps): 'The line between good and evil is in the centre of every human heart.' The Holocaust is justifiably seen as utterly inhuman and the perpetrators evil. Yet it was for political philosopher, Hannah Arendt to coin the phrase 'The banality of evil' when she reported on the trial of Adolf Eichmann, a principal organiser of the Holocaust. In the resulting book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, she

But Arendt's thesis, as it concerns the extreme case of Eichmann, has always been difficult to accept. And it is interesting that in a new study, *Eichmann before Jerusalem* (2014), Bettina Stangneth shows that he was a manipulative and unrepentant Nazi who cunningly deceived Arendt and many others at his trial by assuming the guise of a timid official.

coined the phrase to convey her central thesis that unspeakable crimes are carried out not by ideological fanatics but by ordinary, law abiding officials, so little thinking that they were ignorant of the bigger picture. In Eichmann's case it was not stupidity but a curious, quite authentic inability to think.

Given all the difficulties, we should be cautious about saying people are 'evil'. It would be better to refer only to 'evil acts'. There are no monsters – there are people who do bad things.

Educating for the abolition of war

Michael Morpurgo also said in the MAW Remembrance Day lecture that, although we may not be able to abolish war, we can, of course, educate for it. We could be talking about steps on the way to such a goal, but this demands that we see human nature as it is, and not how we would like it to be.

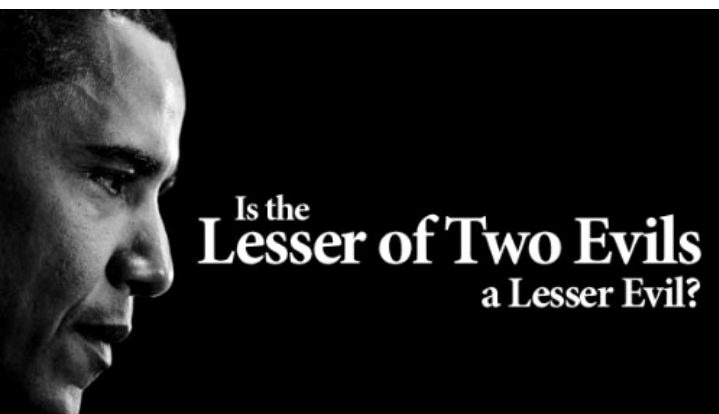
In *Wounding the world* (2014), Joanna Bourke touches on a number of these issues. She says that, although pacifist pronouncements are portrayed as hopelessly utopian, her belief is that military conflict is not inevitable. She is optimistic for three reasons. First, the history of humanity has been one of cooperation more than competition. Secondly, pacifism is not a dangerous fantasy that will hamper the struggle against tyrants: radical change of the social and economic order demands different approaches than armed struggle. And thirdly, because disobedience and defiance are what it means to be human – throughout human history, wherever there is power there has been resistance.

Her views differ somewhat from the thrust of this article. But it must be said that her optimism relates to a rather more effective anti-war movement than we are used to. She says she personally doesn't have much patience for dogmatists in the movement 'who insist on laying out rigid blueprints for a better world fail to engage with the awe-inspiring, creative diversity of human existence.' 'Their cardboard cut-out figures are easily squashed by the vast corporate interests involved in armaments design, production and use.'

She also says we have to 'acknowledge that everyone does not have to join a peace organisation and do what they generally do – demonstrate vociferously in the street, boycott products sponsored by the military or engage in sit-ins, pray-ins, occupations, lock-downs, e-campaigns.' This is important because each of us has talents, skills and spheres of influence that enable us to make a difference in our own local contexts. Wherever we are situated – we can make a difference globally. As philosopher Slavoj Žižek, speaking during the Occupy Wall Street in 2011, warned: 'After outsourcing work and torture, after marriage agencies are outsourcing our love life... we can see that for a long time, we have allowed our political engagement also to be outsourced. We want it back.'

Bourke also believes that continuing to tell people about the unspeakable misery inflicted on people by war is not useful. She says this emphasis is wrong because the suffering is not evenly distributed; it ignores those occasions when 'we' are the perpetrators of violence; and relentless emphasis on gut-wrenching horror is more likely to encourage a turning-away from military realities than any engagement with them. 'War is hell' is true but also meaningless because it embraces a politics that lacks wider perspectives, political dimensions and human agency. If we are to make a difference, we need to remain true to these specificities. Here she emphasises the importance of the individual in the stories we tell – the soldier who refuses to kill an enemy in the heat of battle, the woman who became a pacifist to give meaning to the death of loved ones and so on. Let us hope that the anti-war movement can rise to the task and influence Beck's metamorphosis or at least moderate its ravages.

Perhaps we can also agree that fear, which is always with us, can sometimes be beneficial by sharpening thought and energising non-violent response to danger. But we also need to understand that it is also the enemy, always prone to release the coiled spring of innate aggression. The dream of perpetual peace is always in danger of being extinguished by the nightmare of incessant war.



'Let us hope that the anti-war movement can rise to the task and influence Beck's metamorphosis or at least moderate its ravages.'

The Singing bowl

Collected poems by Malcolm Guite
Canterbury Press, Norwich (2013)

This is the second collection of poems by APF member, The Revd Malcolm Guite. It is a wide-ranging collection of beautifully crafted poems. Malcolm says: 'I have tried to celebrate the world of which I'm made, finding "Heaven in ordinary" and also to discern and echo a little of its music'.

Malcolm is Chaplain of Girton College, Cambridge. A performance poet and singer/songwriter, he lectures widely on poetry and theology.

Begin the song exactly where you are.

Remain within the world of which you're made.

Call nothing common in the earth or air.

Accept it all and let it be good.

Start with very breath you breathe in now,

This moment's pulse, this rhythm in your blood

And listen to it, ringing soft and low.

Stay with the music, words will come in time.

Slow down your breathing. Keep it deep and slow.

Become an open singing bowl, whose chime

Is richness rising out of emptiness,

And timelessness resounding into time.

And when the heart is full of quietness

Begin the song exactly where you are.

Malcolm concludes the collection with three short poetic sequences. They touch on the problem of evil and suffering and one relates to five people in crisis. Here is an old man unable to cope with his experience as a soldier in WWI.

And come November, when they name the dead,

He waits in silence for his heart to break

And every poppy burns with hopeless fire.

Finally the poem offers a glimpse of someone who returns in the redemptive repetition of prayer, to those same points of crisis, praying for the five people whom she has glimpsed during her day. Again it is about persistence rather than answers.

Käthe Kollwitz: 'The suffering witness'

Can one mother holding her dead child stand for the suffering of a continent? It is a question that was vigorously debated when in 1993, Helmut Kohl, as Chancellor of the recently reunited Germany, decided to dedicate a memorial to the Victims of War and Tyranny in the Neue Wache (the New Guardhouse), an austere neo-classical building in the heart of Berlin. This place had been a memorial for three different wars – it was the Prussian memorial to the Napoleonic Wars, the Weimar memorial for WWI, and finally the Soviet memorial for victims of fascism and militarism in WW2.

The stark, undecorated rectangular space contains only one object. In the centre, under an oculus open to the sky, stands a statue of a mother – shielding her dead son. It is an enlarged version of a sculpture made by Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), a sculpture which now silently speaks to all visitors to the Neue Wache of the tens of millions of deaths caused by war and tyranny in the 20th century.



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Although the form derives from religious imagery, there is nothing Christian in the sculpture. The son is not like Jesus, presented to the viewer for contemplation and adoration. He is not resting in Michelangelo's *Pietà* on his mother's knee, but is huddled between her legs. His legs are drawn up so far that he is almost totally enclosed by his mother's body. She does not show him to us, but attempts to shield him, although dead, from further harm.

This is one of artefacts considered by Neil MacGregor in his book, *Germany: memories of a nation*.

'Conflict, time, photography'

This exhibition at the Tate Modern does not look war in the eye. Indeed it seeks deliberately to avoid looking war in the eye. Instead it comes in after the event to examine various postscripts of war: the shadows, the aftershocks, the ruins. It's a show that seeks, therefore, to view things from a typically Tate-ish conceptual distance. Rather surprisingly it works.

To take an obvious example, the French photographer Luc Delahaye gives us a stretching landscape, with an unusually bare horizon, above which floats a small grey cloud. There's nothing else in the picture. Only when you read the title – US bombing on Taliban positions – begin filling out into a dark narrative.

From the seconds after a bomb is detonated to a former scene of battle years after a war has ended, this moving exhibition focuses on the passing of time, tracing a diverse and poignant journey through over 150 years of conflict around the world, since the invention of photography.



Dresden

In an innovative move, the works are ordered according to how long after the event they were created from moments, days and weeks to decades later. Photographs taken seven months after the fire bombing of Dresden are shown alongside those taken seven months after the end of the First Gulf War. Images made in Vietnam 25 years after the fall of Saigon are shown alongside those made in Nagasaki 25 years after the atomic bomb. The result is the chance to make never-before-made connections while viewing the legacy of war as artists and photographers have captured it in retrospect.

The exhibition is staged to coincide with the 2014 centenary and concludes with new and recent projects by British, German, Polish and Syrian photographers which reflect on the First World War a century after it began.

The exhibition continues until 15 March.

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