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With so many real and present threats, politicians in high office must worry about what tomorrow will bring. For George Bush it was the terrorist attack of 9/11; and his presidency is now defined by his response to this. Growing concerns about global warming and the 2008 financial crisis were important but not in such a cataclysmic way.

Many would agree that the nightmare for Barack Obama is that Iran goes nuclear. For this reason, his response to the problem of nuclear proliferation is crucial, particularly his approach to weapon reduction in the run up to the 2010 review conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and in his dealings with Iran and Israel. The dilatory diplomacy towards Iran ought to be brought to a focus because the time available to forestall an Iranian nuclear programme is shrinking

So the theme of this issue is a nuclear one. Our opening article is by Max Kampelman, Head of US and space arms negotiations in the Reagan administration, who continues to be very influential in influencing US attitudes to nuclear disarmament.

Other issues revolve around the Holy Innocents' events in December and the education of young people. We also pay tribute to several public figures whose lives were much influenced by their pacifism.

Tony Kempster

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Pierre J / Flickr

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One prediction about 2009 can be made with absolute certainty: nuclear weapons will not be abolished. However wonderful it would be to remove the threat of nuclear annihilation, the idea of simply banning the bomb has long since seemed wishful thinking. But here is the paradox. Talk about abolition is now growing louder, and not only among the usual nuclear pacifists and dreamers. Some hard-headed practitioners of realpolitik are entering the fray.

Oddly enough, what will drive the growing talk about outright abolition is the world's failure to achieve the much more modest objective of preventing countries from joining the nuclear club. George Bush made stopping 'evil' regimes such as North Korea and Iran from getting the bomb a big part of his presidency. In neither case did he succeed. North Korea set off some sort of bomb in 2006, and nobody is certain that it will honour a later promise to disarm. Iran has meanwhile ignored UN resolutions (and sanctions) calling it to stop enriching uranium, which many governments think, despite Iran's denials, it intends to use for nuclear weapons. The launch by Iran of its first satellite must be a wake-up call because of the danger of it having long-range missile capabilities.

This has taught the nuclear powers a lesson. Unless they start to talk about their own eventual disarmament they will find it hard to get many of the have-nots on their side when it comes to future proliferation. The latter have a grievance under the NPT which obliges the official five to work towards the abolition of existing arsenals, and there are fears that this will collapse when it is reviewed in 2010.

RELIGION AND NUCLEAR POLITICS: THERE'S POWER IN THE 'OUGHT'

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Head of US and space arms negotiations in the Reagan administration

Paper given at the 2008 international conference of the Council for Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament, held at the college of the Washington National Cathedral.

A personal word in this house of prayer — I was born in New York nearly 88 years ago as the only child of a Romanian born mother and father who had migrated to the

the Sabbath is Friday!



OVER TO PAGE TWO

TINUED

NO

In college, I found myself active with other Jewish students. This exposed me to Christian student

Weference to other talks from the CCADD conference at which Max spoke was made in the December 2008 issue of TAP. Tony Kempster was a delegate and also chaired one of the sessions.

⁶ Science does

not end at

boundaries.

national

groups and their faculty advisers, which significantly opened my eyes. One of my professors, a Quaker, introduced me to the non-violent philosophy and work of the Quakers. This led me to volunteer during the war as a human guinea pig in a semi-starvation experiment funded by the Department of Defense at the University of Minnesota. And, in turn, this led me from a legal and teaching career to Washington and an association with Senator Hubert Humphrey for a number of very satisfying years.

This brief biographical sketch may or may not be relevant to my presentation, but what I learned from life is that instead of arguing about the day of the Sabbath we must strive to achieve a society of brothers and sisters by finding objectives and principles that have the potential to unite us as human beings. That should be and can be the character and the commitment of our children's generation. Our most important mission is to understand how best to protect ourselves from the destructive consequences arising out of our growing mastery and understanding of the atom and its capacity to both destroy and create.

Reagan and Gorbachev

In 1985, President Ronald Reagan and Russian President Gorbachev decided to revive negotiations about nuclear weapons between our two countries. Our earlier experience had failed to find a method by which our two countries – the major countries then possessing nuclear weapons of mass destruction – could reduce their numbers and manage a peaceful relationship in the face of those dangerous weapons. President Reagan asked me to head the American delegation in those negotiations.

The 1985 agreement that the two presidents meet and get acquainted with one another took place in Geneva. At the conclusion of their meeting, President Reagan called a White House meeting of his staff and cabinet to report on that first session between the two Presidents. In the course of that report he mentioned that he had suggested to Gorbachev the desirability of both of our countries going to zero on all of our nuclear weapons. I was at that White House session and I recall virtual unanimous consternation among his advisors at the report of his zero proposal. All who spoke believed that it was not in our interest to have us destroy our nuclear weapons. The president listened attentively. He did not respond to their concerns until he and Mr. Gorbachev a year later met again in Reykjavik when he repeated his zero proposal. Those three days in Iceland narrowed the differences between the two leaders, but did not produce an agreement, although they issued a statement saying that 'a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.' Three years later our negotiations in Geneva produced two treaties - one which totally abolished our intermediate range nuclear weapons and the other which reduced our longer-range strategic nuclear weapons by fifty percent.

A changing nuclear world

There was a time when it was only we and the Russians alone who possessed these awful weapons of mass destruction. This is not so now. Science does not end at national boundaries and we know that the technical knowledge is now widespread. We realise that it is understandable for countries without the weapons to seek them for themselves and it is understandable for them to ignore our efforts to persuade them not to develop their nuclear weapons. Our effort to dissuade them from developing nuclear weapons is something like urging and bribing students not to smoke while you are dangling a cigarette from your lips.

And in Britain:

On 4 February, Foreign Secretary, David Milliband launched a new paper, *Lifting the nuclear shadow*, which sets out the UK's position on creating the conditions for abolishing nuclear weapons and is aimed at creating wider understanding about the issues involved. There is not much really new here about policy but the report does set out the conditions required for nuclear disarmament, the steps which would give confidence to all those who are covered by a nuclear deterrent (over half of the world's population) that their security will be greater in a world without nuclear weapons than with them.

The UK's nuclear deterrent should be scrapped, according to a group of retired senior military officers, Field Marshall Lord Bramall, General Lord Ramsbotham, and General Sir Hugh Beach who wrote a letter to *The Times* on 16 January this year denouncing the Trident system as 'irrelevant'. They write: 'Nuclear weapons have shown themselves to be completely useless as a deterrent to the threats and scale of violence we currently face – particularly international terrorism'.

Speaking at a CCADD seminar in London on 10th February, Malcolm Rifkind pointed out that the major spending on the UK's replacement of its nuclear arsenal will not begin to bite until 2013 so there is still time for some reflection and perhaps a change of policy.

From the song Better things by Karine Polwart



Karine says 'I wrote this for the "Bin the Bomb" campaign in protest at the UK Government's decision to re-commission the Trident generation of nuclear weapons. I just think maybe there are a few imaginative and constructive ways to spend £30 billion or so that don't involve weapons of mass destruction'.

'Ten thousand years of big ideas Distilled into a billion fears, A grand design a shiny rocket A bullet in a bully's pocket. So mesmerised by particles We disregard the articles, The ones we wrote to keep the peace Sullied now in blood and greed and grease. Is the best that we can do? Oh I can think of better things – can't you'.





I sense a growing mood [belief] among people of influence in our country and elsewhere that our survival requires leadership by us and the international community to call for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons of mass destruction. Former Secretary of State George Shultz is among the leaders of that effort which includes Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of Defense John Perry, former Senate leader Sam Nunn and significant numbers of leading nuclear scientists, who have now attended two vital sessions on this project at Stanford University. A large number of former Secretaries of State and Defense have joined us as well. I am proud to be a part of that effort. An article by me in The New York Times and two articles by

Gaza: searching for a right sense of proportion

▶ FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear friends,



'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth'This is one of the basic tenets of the ancient Law of Moses, by which Jews, for the past 3,500 years, have been required to order their lives. So how do they square that commandment with the current onslaught on the people confined within the Gaza Strip – a bombardment by air, land and sea which is now almost universally agreed to be *disproportionate?* The answer is: only by abandoning the 'Gold Standard' of the Law of Moses, whereby one eye = one eye, one tooth = one tooth and one human life = one human life, and adopting the adjustable currency of 'One U.S. soldier = 500 Iraqi civilians, and one Israeli life = 800 Palestinians','' Thus is the concept of a Just War re-defined as a Justifiable War and, if Moses is not already



A Palestinian girl holds a candle during a demonstration in Gaza City against the Israeli blockade (Mohammed Abed/AFP/Getty Images).]

spinning in his non-existent grave, the time scale indicated in Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, is also adapted. 'When a man causes a disfigurement in his neighbour, *as he has done* shall be done to him, fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth ...' (Lev. 24:19).

• Disproportion is the stuff of which Tragedy is born. **?**

This has become, 'If a man thinks that his neighbour may one day cause him a disfigurement, *what he may possibly do* shall be done to him, tenfold, fiftyfold and a hundredfold, to him, his family and his neighbours.' So the Law of Moses has been superseded not by the law of the jungle, but by that of the Mafia. Not surprisingly, suicide bombers from countries which have no legitimate armed forces, also subscribe to this variable exchange rate – one man's life (in this case his own, voluntarily given) = the number of lives lost in the blast.

Is it possible, at this late stage, to recall the people of all three Abrahamic faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, at least, to honour the ancient God-given laws necessary as the foundation of a just society? Countless lives and the quality of life for many more would bae saved, if only we could, but, sadly, I can't see it happening. Strange as it may seem, but according with the view that 'Desperate ills require desperate cures' I am convinced that the solution lies in the teaching of Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount, when he goes right to the heart of the old Law, and identifies the intention to live according to the Creator's will which lies behind it – in this case the aim being to prevent the escalation of violence and eliminate the concept of the vendetta which can destroy whole tribes and nations. Jesus makes it quite clear to his hearers that he has not come to destroy or replace The Law but to fulfil it: 'You have heard it said, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' But I say to you, 'Do not resist one who is evil. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.' In this way, the escalation of violence will be checked.

Surely, Christians, of all people, ought to consider seriously that Jesus may just have been right about this as in other matters? He saw clearly that human nature cannot stay poised precariously on the correlation of one eye to another, one tooth to another (is an incisor worth more or less than a molar?), my family of four to your family of five. Emotions are always going to tip the balance, to adjust the 'currency'. As I see it, the way of Jesus is the only *way* to bring to the world that peace which was promised by the angels hovering over Bethlehem at his birth. However, as long as the world lasts, and even if we do manage to follow closely in the way Jesus showed us, not retaliating, rendering no one evil for evil, even to a shameful defeat and death like his, on a cross, that would still not be the cue for, 'And they all lived happily ever after.'

Human Nature (Original Sin, perhaps?) will always risk tipping the balance in favour of our own advantage. Even now, various religious 'loss adjusters' are busily trying to adapt his straightforward command that we should turn the other cheek. They say, 'A slap on the *right* cheek, delivered by a right handed person (which is the most likely scenario and indicates a blow by the back of the hand) is not just a slap - it is an insult! Therefore, if you turn your other cheek towards your assailant, you are provoking him to an act of overt aggression, i.e. a blow with the flat of the hand. Then, of course, it is up to him either to hold back and not take up the challenge, or to go ahead and start a fight and so the textual nit-pickers go on, the 'what ifs' and the 'just supposings' multiply and hypothetical situations abound, in all of which the burden of bringing peace to God's world, according to his clearly stated will, lies no longer on us but on 'the other side' and we see ourselves and portray ourselves once again as the victims of someone else's aggression.

Please, please, please, God, help us to stop twisting our Lord's teaching in order to bring it into line with our selfishness and greed (for money, possessions, power, land, oil, water, etc.) and by doing your will and showing love to all your children, may we become indeed his brothers and sisters (Mark 3:34) and so hasten the coming of your kingship on earth.

A passing thought. Disproportion, when it is not recognised as such, in action, reaction (over-reaction), in words and in images, is the stuff of which Tragedy is born...look at the Greek tragedies, those of Shakespeare and in history the shooting of an Archduke in Sarajevo, and you will see how this works. I only hope that we do not live to see another world-wide tragedy as a result of the present lack of proportionality in the Middle East. On a more hopeful note, disproportion *when it is immediately* seen as such is the stuff of comedy – from the weedy little husband of the 19-stone wife in the vulgar seaside postcard, to the joke which tickled me as a child:

Inspector in a rabbit pie factory to the owner: 'You say on the label that there is some horse meat in your pies. What proportion of the meat content comes from horses?' Owner: 'It's about 50-50 – one horse, one rabbit!'

Perhaps a readiness to spot a lack of proportion, wherever it occurs, might turn potential tragedy to comedy - laughter in place of weeping. May it be so.

I wish you all a happy and fulfilling New Year, and I hope that you will join in the prayers of people of all faiths for the health and healing of all God's children in the year of our Lord, 2009.

Letters in the Church Times

Mary had a letter in the *Church Times* of 23 January in which she made similar points about Israel's disproportionate aggression against Gaza.

APF counsellor, Paul Oestreicher (with Barbara Einhorn) had a letter in the same issue calling for the Church of England, its bishops and its people to come off the fence and be seen to be on the side of those Jews within Israel and around the world who love their Palestinian neighbours and want nothing more than to live at peace with them. He said 'The Arab states have long been offering the formula to make that possible. Had Israel accepted that earlier, it would not now be necessary to negotiate with a militant resistance 'movement.'

'Sometimes things don't go, after all, from bad to worse'

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

I visit schools regularly to talk on peace issues, and find the reaction of students a useful indicator of popular interest in political issues. Two days after President Obama's inauguration, I ran a series of six seminars, speaking in all to some 200 students (14 and 15 year-olds). My subject was 'human security and the global threats that we face'. And it was astonishing just how much the students knew about Obama the man and his mission. 'He is a good man and is going to put things right after Bush' was the mantra with just a few variations.

In his inauguration speech Obama did, indeed, capture the moment in this way. In the past no president has so repudiated the policies of his predecessor. The veiled quality



of criticism ran through the entire speech, following a motif stated early on: The time has come to put away childish things ... to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history. It was clear that he was marking that the Bush era had ended and that, after a long and unhappy detour in the wilderness, things were back on track.

From our pacifist perspective, it was his reference to the resurrection of 'soft power' which is most significant. Soft power hits the theorists of

realpolitik straight in the eye. It suggests that ethical foreign policy, broad public appeal and determined leadership are significant elements in national strength – even if far less tangible and measurable – than are numbers of missiles or GDP. It suggests that the human factor might sometimes possess real leverage, enough to alter the harsh and unrelenting landscape of military and economic power.

It is this 'soft power' which might bring Iran in from the cold, bring some rationality to the US's efforts to deploy missile defence systems and the nuclear debate, and introduce a sustainable peace in the Middle East. In the current Gaza crisis, it would include the provision of assistance to the Palestinians, removing the blockade and reigning in the Israeli hawks. The real test will be when soft power meets hard choices.

Obama has promised to 'return to an American foreign policy consistent with America's traditional values and wants to partner with moderates within the Islamic world to counter Al Qaeda propaganda'. It is clear that the agenda is long and difficult. Nuclear weapons, Iraq, Iran, Israel: Congo, Afghanistan, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuala, Cuba, trafficking of girls and women, child soldiers, torture and the list goes on.

But the hope must be that the new foreign policy will truly use soft power, nonviolence resolve problems and not give legitimacy to war as a means of conflict resolution.

Let us pray that 2009 will indeed be the start of a new era of responsibility'. The work of doing things better should now begin and here is a poem by Sheenagh Pugh (*Selected poems*, 1990) to celebrate such change.

Sometimes things don't go, after all From bad to worse. Some years, muscadel Faces down frost; green thrives; the crops don't fail, Sometimes a man aims high, and all goes well. A people sometimes will step back from war; Elect an honest man; decide they care Enough, that they can't leave a stranger poor. Some men become what they are born for. Sometimes our best efforts do not go Amiss; sometimes we do as we are meant to. The sun will sometimes melt a field of sorrow

That seemed hard frozen: may it happen for you.

Better late than never

It was good to see that The Foreign Secretary, David Milliband did say just before Obama's inauguration that the use of the term 'war on terror' as a Western rallying cry since 9/11 has been a mistake and may have caused more harm than good. British officials quietly stopped using the term in 2006, but this is the first time it has been comprehensively discarded in the most outspoken remarks on the US counterterrorism strategy.

Holy Innocents' events

APF again organised, under the auspice of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations, the Holy Innocents' service in St Martin-in-the-Fields on 28th December. The title of the service was 'We are refugees of war – O hear us' and our focus was child victims of war, particularly refugees in Africa and the Middle East. Music from Kenya and other African countries was used in places during the service and APF vice-chair, Sue Claydon gave an address based on her recent period of work in Zambia (see page 6).

An excellent piece by Sue Dowell, 'Story telling for peace' was read during the service. This was based on *Revelations* 14:3, the Epistle of the day. Sue writes: 'The slaughter was brutal and bloody, the victims unnamed and uncounted. And yet we are told they sing a new song'. Please contact the secretary if you would like a copy of this. The full liturgy of the service is also available.

Dr Pararasan Arulanantham, one of our Governing Body members read at the service. Arul comes originally from Sri



Lanka and has relatives caught up in the ongoing conflict there. He has written several times in TAP and I thought it appropriate to include a piece on the Sri Lankan conflict which is now reaching a crisis point (see the piece below.)

Victory but not peace in Sri Lanka

The conflict is staggering on in a way that, as so often before, endangers, punishes and kills civilians. Colombo offers virtually no access to its military operations even for its own journalists, let alone foreign ones, but the evidence available to the UN and other neutral agencies suggests that civilians have suffered, and continue to suffer, many casualties.

As we well know, victory may reduce but it will not eliminate that exposure. In a period when the war is over but the peace remains to be won, it is sadly predictable that there will be more bombs and assassination attempts, followed by counter-measures by Colombo's security forces.

soft power meets hard choices.**'**

⁶ The real test

will be when

Other APF

visit schools

(see page 10)

members also regularly

What is now needed is a plan by the Colombo government to combine real autonomy for Tamil areas with measures aimed at reviving their all but defunct economies. It is to be hoped that there are those on the Tamil side who can or who will be allowed to respond. The real challenge for both sides will come after the guns fall silent.

A joint statement signed by five Sri Lankan bishops issued this month said the killing of civilians was 'a cause for serious regret, and cannot be justified in any war, especially in a war amongst the people of the same country.

Visit to Northern Ireland and quilts

In November, I took part in several events in Northern Ireland during a visit organised by Roberta Bacic. These included a meeting in Belfast entitled 'Peace education musically illustrated' to launch the 'Call back the fire' CD and discuss how it might be used for peace education in schools. I took a school class in Derry set up by Children in Crossfire, an organisation which raises awareness throughout Northern Ireland of the plight of the poor in Third World countries and funds development/ education projects around the world. I met Richard Moore,



the founder and executive director of the organisation, who as a 10-year old was blinded for life by a rubber bullet in Derry's Creggan Estate. Roberta is an expert on quilts organises and exhibitions (with peace and justice themes) at venues around the world. In October, I

attended and sang at the launch of an exhibition entitled 'The politics of Chilean arpilleras' which she organised at the Centre of Latin American Studies, Cambridge University. Movement for the Abolition of War (MAW) is now planning to have an exhibition at the Imperial War Museum for our events on Remembrance Sunday and possibly at other venues in London.

Milton Keynes joins the Mayors for Peace

And finally it is good to be able to report that my home council, Milton Keynes has at last joined Mayors for Peace. In 2008, 46 new cities joined the organisation, bringing the current total to 2,468 cities in 133 countries or regions. The initiative, which was started by the Mayor of Hiroshima, marks a growing awareness by communities that they have an important part to play in taking responsibility for a sustainable future for all.

Red Hand Day

Following the death of Elnora Ferguson (righthand column), our counsellor, Clive Barrett has been appointed Chairperson of The Peace Museum. It was only recently that Clive had been appointed Vicechairperson. We wish him luck in taking on even more responsibility for this important enterprise. On 12 February 2002, a new UN-treaty came into effect. This banned the use of children under the age of 18 in war. Unfortunately, the United Nations estimates that up to 250,000 children are still be used as soldiers in over 20 armed conflicts worldwide.

'Red Hand Day' is held on the 12 February each year to commemorate the treaty. This year the International Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers aims to present 1 million 'red hands' to UN Officials in New York. This campaign was started by children and young people and has spread around the world. "We will make clear that we expect more than a ban – we want it to be enforced." (Red Hand Day Campaign).

To support this action, APF along with others in the UK Coalition have been collecting 'red hands'. People were asked to write a message and their names.

There were so many poignant comments, but this one from a

15 year old sums it all up: "We, the children of the world, are the holders of the future. Don't force us to drop the future to take up weapons."

If you would like to know more about this campaign and how the UN presentation went, go to www.redhandday.org.



Parishioners at St. Peter's Church, March, Cambridgeshire with some of the red hands they contributed to the campaign.

A tribute to Elnora Ferguson who died in December

Elnora was an APF member and known to many of us as a tireless worker for peace and justice with an immense enthusiasm for promoting the education of young people. The Universities of Birmingham and Coventry benefitted greatly from her support, and both awarded her honorary degrees. She was also a deeply religious person, living a modest personal life but with immense generosity in her commitment to the causes she championed.

Elnora's life was a very varied. She travelled the world with her husband John, always working hard voluntarily or teaching wherever she went. She was banned from South Africa during the apartheid period because of her work to promote equality.

She was a director in the family business of Taylor and Francis plc which funded the Allan and Nesta Ferguson Foundation, which she chaired. The Foundation was a leading charity supporting education and peace work in Britain and internationally. A grant was recently awarded to the International Peace Bureau (Geneva) for its Disarmament for Development project with which MAW is involved.

But I knew her best in my role as a member of The Peace Museum board which she chaired.

Elnora was indefatigable in overseeing this large and rather difficult project to establish a national peace museum (involving, of course, education work with young people). Beginning as a peace gallery in Bradford, this has led to the current plan to establish the multi-million pound Senator



Elnora with the Professor Simon Lees,Vice-chancellor of Leeds Metropolitan University at the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding of their two organisations

George Mitchell Peace Centre for peace and conflict resolution at Leeds Metropolitan University (of which The Peace Museum is part). The museum is also a major contributor to MAW's series of Peace History Conferences at the Imperial War Museum.

Elnora will be missed in so many areas of peace and education.

A reflection on Africa

Address by Sue Claydon at the Holy Innocents' Service, 'We are child refugees of war – o hear us' held at St Martin-in-the-Fields on 28th December

I felt honoured to be asked to speak at this Holy Innocents service, but feel a little daunted, too. Previous speakers on this occasion had shared their experience of children in Northern Uganda or Palestine and some gave profound messages like the then Bishop of Croydon. I wondered what I could add?

Yes, I did spend a good part of this year as a VSO volunteer in Africa. But, it was in one of the countries we rarely hear of here, one of the sadly few in number that have not experience armed conflict since their independence – Zambia. But, I did learn much there. One thing was how Zambians value their experience of peace. At one point in the 1970's they had the largest number of refugees per local population in the world as citizens of their many neighbours fled the 'wars of liberation'. At every – and I do mean every – service or prayers I attended thanks were given for their much valued peace alongside prayers that others would have peace.

Back in late April, I wrote an article for *The Anglican Peacemaker.* It was about my experience of listening to the

Africa Network of the BBC - my daily companion. That experience taught me how little even someone interested in Africa hears about the everyday African news here in the UK. The evening I wrote that article followed an unfortunately all too typical day. It had brought news of the failure yet again to get the Lord's Resistance Army to sign a peace agreement in Uganda; and how the number of deaths in Darfur was at least 40% higher than previously assumed. In Cameroon there were riots about the escalating costs of food and then a warning that the next item contained graphic details - now when the BBC warns you this way, you know you are in for horrendous news. And it was. Human Rights Watch had made a call for international action in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The raping of women and

abduction of child soldiers was continuing unabated. The report ended by saying that this was the worst place in the *whole* world to be a woman or a child. Sadly 9 months on while we are more aware of the problems of Eastern Congo, all these issues continue with little change.

These news reports were supplemented by what friends and acquaintances were telling me about personal reports - for the mobile phone has transformed communication throughout Africa - about what was happening to family and friends in Zimbabwe, especially the rural areas where no outsiders were. In May while visiting Livingstone, we experienced a curfew – the result of people crossing the bridge from Zimbabwe.

So, what has this to do with Holy Innocents Day? In all these areas, the lives of children were and are being treated with disdain.

But this was happening elsewhere in Africa. What about in Zambia? My work brought me in contact with many of the local groups, community based and faith based organisations that are coping with the huge numbers of orphans and vulnerable children as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Most of these people are working in a voluntary capacity with no support from overseas. The demography of Zambia is similar to that of many countries in the area. It has a population of 11.7 million, of which 6.2 million are under 19. Caring for these children has put a tremendous strain on the traditional family structure. Yet, the work that is being done by Zambians themselves to address issues exacerbated by this

pandemic was often inspiring. This issues include child labour, the trafficking of children, children living on the streets of the cities, some 'new traditional' misunderstandings, especially that sex with a child or virgin will cure a man of HIV. And there are the continuing forms of abuse that arise in every society – with some recent telling cases in our own country - but often this abuse is increased where poverty is endemic.

To walk into a community school or a children's home and find the smiling, and running-about noise that children make anywhere is to realise that, provided care and love is given, even those most traumatised will flower.

So, what is the overall message for this Holy Innocents Day? It is that children continue on the receiving end of violence perpetrated by adults – and mainly by men. We can do something about this by getting the message of what is happening to our churches and communities. To tell them that children both at home around the world still need the protection which was not given to the children and families in Herod's Bethlehem. We can work to support both the major and local children's charities.

And there is something else I would ask you to do. As you came in you were each given a red hand. The red hand is the symbol of the International Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. I know you are aware of the travesty of child soldiers and the fact it happens in so many places. The Coalition is planning to present a million red hands to the United Nations on the 12 February 2009 to back up the call for further action to stop this physical and psychological abuse of children. You are asked to put a short message on the hand and your name and address (see Secretary's report, page 5).

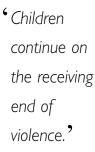
But before finishing, I want to share one final point. Many people in Europe and North America have the impression that Africans are sitting with a begging bowl. This is so far from the truth that any time I speak I want to mention this 'myth'. For a myth is it. I saw so many Zambians working very hard, often at personal sacrifice, to in any small way make sure the children in their communities were given as good a start in life as they could manage. Yes, funding from the wealthy world is needed to support them, but like millions of Africans they are 'doing it for themselves'.

The 'holy innocents of today', whether refugees, child soldiers, those exploited or abused and those either infected or affected by HIV/AIDS continue to cry out for protection and love. What will we do to respond in 2009?

From the New Zealand branch of the fellowship



The Revd Dr Jonathan Hartfield has been appointed the chairman of APF NZ, following Margaret Bedggood who has done a fine job over the past three years. It was during her chairmanship that Dorothy Brown's vision of a University Centre of Peace Studies came to fruition (see issue 8.2 of TAP). Jonathan, who is a retired surgeon, has said that one of his priorities is to encourage increased membership.



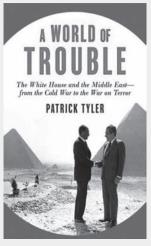
Book Look

▶ RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Here are some valuable publications concerned with Middle East politics and terrorism which relate the human experience of modern war and terrorism.

Patrick Tyler (2008)

A world of trouble: America in the Middle East Portobello



This is an account of a half-century of American misadventure in this troubled part of the world. Patrick Tyler, a Washington Post reporter, uses an up-close journalistic style to depict the power struggles that have defined this period. In essence, the book consists of eight presidential

portraits, showing how each one grappled with the dilemmas of power, oil and strategy from Suez to Iraq. Readers are treated to an intimate view of Eisenhower's careful, steady diplomacy during the Suez crisis; Kissinger's egocentric and fateful decision to fully arm Israel in the October war of 1973 and the tangled web of communication and intentional deceit during the Reagan administration that led to the Iran-Contra scandal and the continuing strained relations with Iran. In the final chapter of his book, Tyler concludes that President Bush's invasion of Iraq was akin to all the mistakes of his predecessors. 'It was a travesty that could be put entirely on his shoulders.'

Yet this is not a radical view. He concludes that the US is still the 'indispensible power in the Middle East', although its mistakes have cost countless thousands of lives and destroyed cultures. His book is a plea for tolerance and accommodation in American foreign policy.

A principal failing of American policy, Tyler argues, that successive presidents including Eisenhower have been obsessed with the region's strategic location and oil reserves, and heavily influenced by their friendship with Israel, such that they have felt it their business to meddle in the affairs of the region. He is very critical of the special relationship between the US and Israel and the constant American appeasement in the face of Israeli aggression. Reading the book during the Israeli invasion of Gaza, it was hard not to be struck by the parallels between past and present.

A world of trouble would make instructive reading for President Obama. Whether he will do better remains anyone's guess, but since he seems to share much of their sense of America's mission to the world, it is difficult to be over-optimistic.

Terry Eagleton (2005)

Holy terror

Oxford University Press The book is billed as the first to discuss the idea of terror in its cultural. philosophical and metaphysical context. While this may not be strictly accurate, it is true that very few of the thousands of books on the



subject have explored it in a larger context.

This is an examination of the idea of terrorism, by one of the world's foremost cultural critics. It is provocative and radical in its approach and written with clarity. Terry Eagleton's draws on political, philosophical, literary and theological sources to trace a genealogy from the ancient world to the modern day. Ranging from the cult of Dionysus, through Shakespearian tragedy and the politics of Danton and Hegel, to the thoughts of Freud, it includes en route ideas of God, freedom, the nation, the sublime and the unconscious. It also examines the problem of evil, and devotes a concluding chapter to the idea of tragic sacrifice and the scapegoat.

Terrorism, he tell us, runs all the way back to the pre-modern world, for it is there that the concept of the sacred first sees the light of day; and the idea of terror, implausibly enough is closely bound up with this creative and destructive, life-giving and death-dealing notion.. This may not seem an appropriate book in an issue focusing on nuclear weapons, but the metaphysical aspects of terror are linked with the notion of end times and apocalypse. Eagleton ends the book with words which Raymond Williams concluded his Culture and Society 1780-1950:

There are ideas, and ways of thinking, with the seeds of life in them, and there are others, perhaps deep in our minds, with the seeds of a general death. Our measure of success in recognizing these kinds, and in naming them making possible their common recognition, may literally be the measure of our future.'

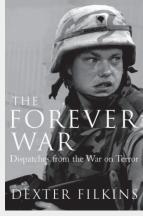
One of the merits of *Holy terror* is that Eagleton explores the religious dimension of modern politics: the netherworld of eschatology and myth that lies beneath secular belief. He is not afraid to use the language of sin and redemption, and if there is a consistent thread of argument in this book it is that, whatever their political and economic causes, modern revolutions also express religious needs – however deeply repressed. One of the reasons the liberal West finds radical Islam so disturbing is that it forces secular cultures to confront the fact that religion is pervasive and inescapable.

Dexter Filkins (2008) The forever war: dispatches from the war on terror

The Bodley Head.

Many books have already been written about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and about the

war on terror – how they happened and why, how they succeeded and failed. This is not that kind of book: rather than argument or handwringing, awardwinning New York Times war correspondent Dexter Filkins offers a tour of the great conflicts of our time. Through his ideas as a reporter on the



ground, we witness the events that began with the rise of the Taliban in the 1990s, led to the terrorist attack of 9/11, and culminated in the wars of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Filkin's writing moves across a vast landscape of characters and scenes. We meet Iraqi insurgents and American soldiers, Afghan rebels and Taliban clerics. We travel to deserts and glaciers and mountaintops, to the scenes of public amputations and executions, to suicide bombings and into the homes of the bombers themselves.

The title derives from the comments of a 17-year-old jihadist Filkins interviewed in Afghanistan. A Pakistani taken prisoner near Kabul by the Northern Alliance, the young man had been taught at a madrassa by his father. He wished to avenge a brother who had been killed fighting the Soviet Union and told Filkins that 'There is no end to the jihad; it will go on forever until doomsday.'

The book provides a visceral understanding of the War on Terror: its victims, the people who fight it and the way these people feel. It is successful in capturing the human experience – and tragedy – of war. Filkins uses the truth as observed firsthand to detail an arid, hopeless policy in an unpromising part of the world. It is probably the best single source for understanding the so-called 'war on terror' from the front lines. This volume will be a part of this awful war's history.

Handbook for nonviolent campaigns Published by War Resisters' International

This WRI handbook was published this month, and includes sections on developing strategic campaigns, preparing for actions (with check list), exercises for working in nonviolence and examples of successful campaigns in different circumstances. To order copies contact WRI at info@wri-irg.org or on 020 7278 4040.

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Diary of Events

LOCAL AND NATIONAL

22 February George Lansbury Memorial Service at 4.00 pm at St Mary's Bow Church, Bow Road, London. For further information on this and the two events below contact NigelWiskin on 01793 747362 or email <u>whiskin06@</u> btinternet.com.

25 February AshWednesday. Annual liturgy of Repentance and resistance to nuclear war' available from Pax Christi on 0208 203 4884 or www.paxchristi.org.uk.

27 February 'The most lovable figure in modern politics': celebrating George Lansbury, his life and politics. Panel discussion with Tony Benn, Professor Mary Davis (GL's biographer) and others. 7.30 at Bromley Hall, Bow Road E3 3AA.

29 March 'Turning silence into song: celebrating 50 years of Rosselsongs'. Concert with Leon Rosselson, Frankie Armstrong, Robb Johnson and others at the Tricycle Theatre, 269 Kilburn High Road, London NW6 7JR. Box office: 020 7328 1000 or book online at <u>www.tricycle.co.</u> <u>uk</u>.

Second Annual General Meeting

APF has been working under a new constitution agreed with the Charity Commissioners which specifies a quorum of 20 for the AGM. We were rather optimistic when we proposed this number and found that were not quorate on 18th October when we held our 2008 meeting. A second AGM was held on the 17th January at which according the CC rules we were able to establish a new quorum (10 members).

Website

Remember – if you want to keep up with activities, news and actions between your issues of *The Anglican Peacemaker*, go to the APF website. The Red Hand Campaign appeared there and so does all the latest news. www.anglicanpeacemaker.org.uk

We are still looking for someone to look after the website. If you are interested or would like further information about what is involved, please contact Roger Payne at <u>rjpayne@02.co.uk</u>.

24-25 April MAW Peace History Conference at the Imperial War Museum, London. Details and booking forms from 11 Venetia Road, London N4 1EJ or visit www.abolishwar.org.uk.

15 May International Conscientious Objector's Day. Commemoration in Tavistock Square at 12 noon.

29-31 May FoR Scotland conference 'What can I do for peace?'. St Drostan's Lodge, Tarfside, Glenask, Angus. Contact David Mumford for details on 01356 622708 or dmumford3@btinternet.com.

12-14 June Church and Peace international conference at Bienenberg, Liestal, Switzerland. Contact C&P, Ringstr. 14, 35641 Schoffengrund, Germany or +49 6445 5588.

4 July Annual 'Independence from America' day organised by Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases. Event at Menwith Hill. Details from 01423 844076 or <u>www.caab.org.uk</u>.

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP Chairperson, Mrs Mary Roe I North Lodge, Bicester House, Kings End, Bicester OX12 6NT 01869 321639 mary@roes.org.uk Vice Chairperson: Mrs Sue Claydon Bridge House, Whittlesey Road, March, Cambridgeshire, PEI5 0AH 013546 54214 sue.claydon @ cambridge shire.gov.ukHonorary Secretary: Dr Tony Kempster (Also the address of the Fellowship) Ì I, 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 rjpayne@o2.co.uk Commissioning Editor of *The Anglican Peacemaker*. The Revd Robin Eastoe St Margaret's Vicarage, 1465, London Road, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex SS9 2SB 01702 471773 eastoe@dialstart.net Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray I Wilford Drive, Ely CB6 ITL 01353 668495 s.m.gilmurray@anglia.ac.uk

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

⁶We communicant members of the Anglican Communion or Christians in communion with it, believing that our membership of the Christian Church involves the complete repudiation of modern war, pledge ourselves to renounce war and all preparation to wage war, and to work for the construction of Christian peace in the world.⁹

Then please $(\sqrt{)}$ 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.

	Year of birth	Diocese	
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Please \checkmark 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.			
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Film Look

▶ RECENT FILMS REVIEWED

The three films reviewed here are rather bleak and deal with difficult subjects. Two films are dedicated to realism and authenticity and one (the road) to the bleakness of one man's vision of the future.

The road

Directed by John Hillcoat

This film is an epic, post-apocalyptic tale of a journey taken by a father and his young son across a barren landscape that was blasted by an unnamed cataclysm which destroyed civilisation and most of the earth. America has been reduced to wandering bands of cannibals and scavengers in the wake of an ambiguous apocalypse. The film looks as though all but a dribble of colour has been leached from it.

It is based on a novel of the same title by Cormac McCarthy (2006), which won the Pullitzer Prize for Fiction. It was reviewed in an earlier issue of TAP and we know several APF members have made reference to it in talks and seminars over the last two years. The film received a negative reaction at a test screening and the release was delayed. Critics said it did not do justice to the book.

Like the book, the film eschews names for its characters: Viggo Mortensen's (actor) is simply The Man; his son with whom he struggles to reach the coast is The Boy (Kodi Smit-McPhee). There is a particularly strong dynamic between father and son which is reinforced by sparse dialogue

This is a scary film not particularly by what it shows – there are many horrific films – but because (to quote New Scientist of 14th



February) 'Australia may have just had a horrifying preview of what climate change has in store for people. Even early warning couldn't stop the bush fires in Victoria claiming 170 lives and over 700 homes.' Scientists are reluctant to link individual weather events but they do say the climate change loads the dice, and can make severe episodes like this more likely.

Defiance

Directed by Edward Zwick

History is full of terrible events and injustices that human beings are somehow able to survive. Then it is left to filmmakers to move in and make



art out of the facts. This film is based on a book by the historian, Nechama Tec from interviews she made with Jewish survivors of an event during World War II.

The outline of the story is compelling. In 1941, in Nazi-occupied Belarus, four Jewish brothers, the Bielski brothers survived a massacre in their village and went into hiding in the forest. In the ensuing days and weeks, they were joined by other refugees, many of them weak and infirm. Although the group remained in hiding for some four years, and often found themselves on the move in the forest, they worked to maintain a sort of civilization for themselves, building shelter and working out the essential details of communal life. In other words, they kept themselves alive by hanging onto precious threads of everyday living.

Most of the group, under the leadership of the oldest brother; managed against all odds to stay alive. They fought Nazis and collaborators whenever necessary and joined forces with the Russian Army. So it is a challenge to absolute pacifism, but one could argue that the survival of the Jews was their most powerful means of fighting back. There is also quite a lot of highflown rhetoric: 'We must not be like them, even though we are forced to kill like them'; our revenge is to kill'; 'we will become warriors like the Maccabees'.

The films' director does spend some time pondering the moral issues connected with the use of violence and these parts of the film seem most alive. At one point a rabbi leads the group -- exhausted and hungry -- in prayer, imploring God to 'choose another people'. It's a moving moment, and perhaps, coming from a religious person, it represents the ultimate defiance: the act of standing up to the creator and saying, 'Enough, already!'

But there is also ruthlessness in the way the Jewish leaders kill. It took the American cinema quite a time to make pictures like 'Exodus' and 'Cast a giant shadow' which presented Jews fighting for the creation of Israel. But, with the Gaza conflict, this is not the best time for a picture celebrating them in such a ruthless mode.

Generation Kill Directed by David Simon and Ed Burns

This is an HBO drama series about the 2003 invasion of Iraq, based on the book by the *Rolling Stone* reporter, Evan Wright, who spent time embedded with a unit of US marines. The drama does in fact include an Evan Wright character named Scribe.

'Generation Kill' was billed as looking more real than any earlier war epic, so what we get are lots of men who all look the same and talk the same: speedily, and in an army jargon no civilian can hope ever to understand. Its aim is to show, in



almost obstinate detail, exactly what it is like to be in the crucible of a modern war.

They are not good men, but nor are they bad; they are simply doing a job, at the mercy of their often incompetent superiors as much as any vengeful Iraqi. They are bored and desperate to 'get some'. They are full of machismo, but they also have a softer side; one, predictably enough, is moved to mention the Geneva Conventions when his commanding officer instructs him to send a bunch of surrendered Iraqi civilians back in the direction of the death squads they were attempting to escape. There are no good guys, no bad guys; ambiguity.

Wright says 'Soldiers are people who are often voiceless in war. I wanted to get a picture of what their perspective was.' He consciously avoided the wider politics of the war because he said that in America right now 'the politics are so divisive that people analyse information from the standpoint of whether it is left- or right-wing, which is a inappropriate way of looking at something like this'.

There is frank and sometimes excessively crude dialogue, because this probably what you need when you are in the muck and mire, the gore, the horror and the hatred. But what 'Generation kill' does well is all the farcical stuff. The unit's first injury was the result not of shellfire but of an exploding espresso maker.

Most of the killing you see in 'Generation Kill' is the 'almost fair' sort because the film covers the first 21 days of the 2003 invasion, not the years of mess that followed. That's not to say no anger is shown, but sometimes this is self-generated, at least to start with. One of the characters, Cpl Josh Ray Person, puts it thus: 'the marine corps is like America's little pit bull. They beat us, starve us and once in a while let us out to attack someone.

N I N E _____

Educational resources and GL

Music in school



On January 20th, Comberton Village College, Cambridgeshire, held a Peace Studies Day, when Year 11 students took part in workshops on many aspects of conflict and peacemaking. Workshop leaders included Sue Claydon and Sue Gilmurray, who also led a group of music students to end the day with a performance of songs. One of the songs was a new one, entitled 'People of earth' having its first performance. Students played flute, violin, saxophone, guitar, bass and drums, as well as singing. The song has a strong peace and environmental message with the refrain: 'People of earth join hands and people of earth make plans giving the world a future'.

The 150th anniversary of George Lansbury's birth will be commemorated in East London and Westminster in February 2009 (see page 8)

George Lansbury was involved in the establishment of APF. He was a member of the Advisory Council of the fellowship set up in 1937. Other members were Evelyn Underhill, Middleton Murray, Maude Royden and Charles Raven.

The British historian, A. J. P.Taylor, described George Lansbury as 'the most lovable figure in modern politics'. Known affectionately in his lifetime as 'GL', he was one of the most fascinating, well-known and highly revered personalities in East London history: Labour pioneer and Party leader, Marxist SDF



George Lansbury and nonvoter-constituents in Bow, November 1912. organiser, rebel East End MP and Cabinet minister, ally of the suffragettes and women's movement, Christian socialist editor of the *Daily Herald*, imprisoned former Labour mayor, ardent anti-imperialist, republican and out and out pacifist.

As Labour leader, George Lansbury was known universally as a committed socialist, and an implacable

opponent of capitalism and imperialism, whose Christian faith underpinned his politics and life. He never sought personal wealth, travelled everywhere by public transport and made his family home with his wife, Bessie, at 39 Bow Road, which was open to all in the impoverished East End.

GL visited Bolshevik Russia in 1920 and 1926 and was closely associated with nationalist causes abroad, particularly in Ireland, India, and Egypt. He actively protested against bombing Iraq in 1924 at the time of the First Labour Government.

In 1929-31 George Lansbury was First Commissioner of Works in the ill-fated Second Labour Government and actively opposed cuts in unemployment benefit proposed by the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. After the schism in the Labour Party in 1931, at 73 he successfully took over the helm of a decimated party of only 46 Labour MPs in the Depression years until 1935. GL not only led HM Opposition against the massed ranks of 554 National Government MPs, but made a considerable contribution to restoring the morale of Labour movement by his speeches and meetings throughout the length and breadth of Britain. As a life-long pacifist, his final years were spent in international peace crusades (including visits to Hitler and Mussolini) in attempts to prevent another world war.

Robert Hinde (2008)

Ending war: a recipe. Spokesman

Since our theme is communication and education, may I refer you to this booklet by Robert Hinde who is deputy chair (recently chair) of the British Pugwash Group and president of the Movement for the Abolition of War. It is an excellent overview of the nature of war, its causes, the morality and legality of war and what can be done to end war as an institution. It is easy to read and, rather like Laurence Rees' book on page 7 combines the personal experience of individuals at war with the broader aspects.

It is well suited to use in schools and I hope it will become widely available.

Copies can be obtained (price £5 inc p&p in the UK and £6 abroad) from the British Pugwash Group, Flat A, Museum Mansions, 63A Great Russell Street, London WCIB 3BJ. Cheques should be addressed to the 'British Pugwash Trust'. It is also available at www.pugwash.org.

Research information for David Ramanauskas

One of our GB members, David Ramanauskas is producing a book setting out the pros and cons of Christian pacifism. He says: 'My aim is to produce a work that not only presents Christian pacifism (absolute pacifism) as the only option, but to present it in such a way that theological colleges list it as required reading for the study of Christian Ethics or Biblical Hermeneutics. It is these students of theology who will be leading the Church in the future, and they have great potential to become active members of the APF and challenge the false teaching in the church of the Just War theory.

David would be interested to hear from APF members who may be able to help in his research of this subject. Perhaps they may have personal experience that he could include in the book, such as being COs or experiences of the horrors of war; they may have an question or know of an objection to Christian pacifism that they feel has not been properly covered in the past, and should be answered in the book. All suggestions are welcome.

Members can email David (<u>david@bluebirdphotography.</u> <u>co.uk</u>) or write to him at 15 Mortons Close, Siddal, Halifax H3 9BW, West Yorkshire. George Shultz and the Stanford group in the *Wall Street Journal* have produced overwhelming public and leadership responses.

Some months ago I was invited to London where I spoke in The House of Commons on the need for the UK to join with us in that effort for zero. The British Foreign Minister openly identified herself and her government with that objective. There is growing support in Europe. We were also recently invited to attend similar sessions in Norway under the encouragement of the Norwegian government. I plan to be in Paris in a few weeks.

The power of 'ought'

I realize that it is simple to state what 'ought' to be, but how realistic is such a statement? Permit me to say a few words about my belief in the power of 'ought'.

Prior to my introduction to Washington in 1949, when I joined the staff of newly elected Senator Hubert Humphrey, I taught political science at the University of Minnesota. During my teaching days, Gunnar Myrdahl, the distinguished Swedish economist, published his massive study of The American dilemma: the negro problem and modern democracy. His dominant perception was the realization that wherever he went in our country, he noted a common theme - that of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. I then asked my students to recall that, when the Declaration was proposed, we had slavery, no legal equality for women, and property qualifications for voting. I could envision the practical politicians of that era saying in Philadelphia: 'This is no time for these unrealistic dreams. We are fighting a war for our creation and independence as a nation. Don't confuse us. We are losing the war. Get out of our way. Slavery has been with us since the beginning of time - even the Bible tells us that.'

The practical politicians arguably had a strong case for scepticism, but the 'ought' of the Declaration has now clearly overcome the 'is' of that day. The 'ought' has made our American democracy the country we cherish today. The 'ought' has been and is central to our place in world history. The power of 'ought' is real. I suggest to you that our role in the world must be to help establish a civilized 'ought' for the human race – the abolition of weapons of mass destruction. The alternative is chaos and unimaginable destruction.

I believe that the President of the United States, after appropriate consultation, should personally propose a resolution to the United Nations and the peoples of the world that its General Assembly call for the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. This must be our and the world's indispensable rational objective - the 'ought' for the world and the human race. The resolution should then simultaneously direct the UN Security Council to develop effective political and technical procedures to achieve this rational goal, including stringent intrusive verification and severe penalties to prevent cheating by irresponsible nations and groups. The penalty should be total world isolation political, economic, and cultural - to punish those criminal states which would attempt to violate the 'ought' adopted by the UN. States found to be criminal states should, in addition to their isolation as criminal states, also lose their right to vote or participate in any way in any of the bodies within the UN. As a part of this program, I believe that all countries with weapons grade plutonium and uranium should be required to sell their weapons grade material to a new UN bank, which would use the material to produce energy for needy states around the world.

Do I expect that Russia will join us in this effort to restore sanity to the world? I do not know, but I am aware that they are interested. Do I expect that China will refrain from exercising its veto within the Security Council and thereby try to defeat our efforts toward world sanity? I do not know, but I doubt it.

What I do know is that an effort toward sanity by us will communicate to the world that we Americans – descendants of Russians and Chinese and Africans and Latinos and Indians and Germans and French –are part of an effort to achieve human dignity and peace, and that this is what America represents and seeks for all the peoples of the world. We have the sword, but we seek a world without swords. We have the capacity to win wars, but we do not want to fight wars.

It is essential that we lead the world into developing a decisive move away from the 'is' - a world with a risk of increasing catastrophe – and work toward achieving peace and stability, the 'ought'. It was President John Kennedy who said, '... the world was not meant to be a prison in which man awaits his execution.... The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us.' It was President Ronald Reagan who called for the abolition of 'all nuclear weapons,' which he considered to be 'totally irrational, totally inhumane, good for nothing but killing, possible destructive of life on earth and civilization.'

There is power in the 'ought'. It is time for the religious world to assert itself and its commitment to the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. It is time for us to say so and to lead in that direction.

Article by Frank McManus, APF GB member.

Last March, the recently retired Bishop of Oxford, Richard Harries, presented my Diocesan Synod with a 'keynote speech' on Just War Doctrine in today's world. He had made known some years ago that he held that the Iraq operations fell foul of its provisions. He asked the Synod whether it had anything to say on the topic.

I mentioned during the brief discussion that as a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, though perhaps not 'Simon pure', I felt that more attention was needed to New Testament insights – Jesus' word 'They who take the sword will perish by the sword' (Mathew 26.52); Paul's listing of God's armoury (Ephesians 6.11+) with the Sword of Spirit as our only weapon of attack; and his message at 2 Corinthians 10.4 'The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world'.

After consultation with friends in the House of Laity which has expressed a preference for debates rather than presentations, I moved at the October meeting of the Diocesan Synod that 'This Synod recognises that while Just War doctrine has achieved a measure of success in the mitigation of evil, it has proved disappointing in restraining aggression and is in itself clearly inadequate in the face of scientific warfare, which mars the new Christian Millennium. We, therefore urge all Christians and people of good will to look beyond this situational and non-Biblical theory in our endeavouring to guide the world into the way of peace; and to pray and act that New Testament principles may have full play in achieving peace by peaceful means.'

In moving this I mentioned that saying Just War doctrine is unscriptural I didn't disparage it, for it embodied 'common sense' which is a grace of the Spirit. However we should also note that St Augustine famously said that it is greater glory to kill in wars with words than men with weapons; and also that Pope John XXIII had stressed the need to dry the wellsprings of evil. As Christians we are not to call Jesus Lord and then fail to do as He says,

Canon lan Gaskell asked for a succinct statement of the point being made. This elicited 'It is distractive if Just War theory is made the sole focus of consideration.' Bishop Stephen stressed the peaceful intention of Just War theory, and supported the motion for guidance of our General Synod representatives. It was carried by about 60 votes to two.

Music • poetry • arts

As relevant as ever

On 26th April 1937, the Condor Legion of the German Luftwaffe, sent by Adolf Hitler to aid Franco's right-wing nationalists in the Spanish civil war, bombed the Basque capital Guernica on market day killing over 1600 people. Picasso, 55 years old and at that moment the world's most infamous modern artist, immediately set out to protest against this crime with a huge history painting.

So much is well known. What is less well known is that soon after it was unveiled in Paris in 1937, Guernica came to Britain where it stirred controversy, aroused compassion and

showed London's East End what it would experience at the hands of the Luftwaffe.

Now it is coming back. The full-size tapestry replica that hangs in the UN building in New York will be shown in the spring in London's Whitechapel Gallery, in commemoration of the paintings visit there 70 years ago.

If Guernica has ever seemed to world weary cynics to be a dated humanist piety, it has come into its own again in this decade. During the Iraq, during the Iraq war US peace



campaigners could not find a more effective image than Picasso's to put on the bill-boards. It returns to Whitechapel in the wake of scenes that the world has a lot to learn about the inhumanity of bombing civilians. Guernica's bare lightbulb has never cast a more necessary light. Let us hope it reaches as far as the modern weapons of mass destruction.



'War horse'

The National Theatre's production of 'War horse' is based on the celebrated novel by Michael Morpurgo and adapted by Nick Stafford. It is directed by Tom Morris.

The songs were written by John Tams and the music composer was Adrian Sutton.





The piece parallels the rural life and work on farms with the fighting of battles in the WWI. 'Two fields – one for growing, one for killing. Two mechanical reapers – one to do the work of ten men, the other to take away the lives of ten men at a time. Riding out like a Boxing Day hunt against machine guns. A culture carried by its generation disappearing into the mud – a song, a carol, a ballad, a jig, a hornpipe, a story – a tradition at a time. If we are defined by the noise we make colloquially and regionally, all went quiet.'

'Who'll sing the anthems and who'll tell the story Will the line hold, will it scatter and run Shall we at last be united in glory Only remembered for what we have done.'

The original music and songs from the National Theatre production are on CD (CORDAF01).

'Warhorse' will be at the New London Theatre, from the beginning of April. Details and tickets are available from the National Theatre on 020 7452 3000.

Two men with anti-war commitments Adrian Mitchell



Adrian Mitchell, poet, playwright and performer died in December: He was a natural pacifist, a playful, but deeply serious peacemonger and an instinctive democrat. But for all his strong convictions he abhorred solemnity. From *Red Pepper*, the small leftwing magazine, he gleefully accepted a nomination as 'shadow Poet Laureate', and demolished royalty, cultural

fashions and pretensions in monthly sallies. His poems and the plays and politics – he went to Faslane on the anti-Trident demonstration and got arrested –will last.

Harold Pinter

Harold Pinter, one of the greatest modern dramatists died in December. He enjoyed parallel careers as actor, screen writer and director. He was a vigorous polemicist but he will be best remembered for his ability to create dramatic poetry out of everyday speech and for his resistance to social conformity and inherited ideas. He was a pacifist and when called up for national service, he registered as conscientious objector, in the end escaping with a fine rather than prison. But the incident epitomised Pinter's non-conformity and suspicion of the state. In the mid 80s he began to express, in dramatic form, his strong feelings about torture, human rights and the double standards of western democracies.

It is the editorial policy of The Anglican Peacemaker to include a range of articles expressing a variety of opinions. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the editors nor of the APF. The editor for this edition was Tony Kempster. Letters and contributions for the next edition should be sent to the commissioning editor (details on page 8 by April 30th 2009).

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