

The Anglican PEACEMAKER

The newsletter of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship (Annual Report issue)

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From Philip Glass's opera Satyagraha (ENO 2010)



A major question of our times is how governments will respond to the crises wrought by global warming. What "weapons" will the rich nations use to protect national interests when essential resources are no longer readily available and floods of unwelcome refugees are pressing on the borders?

History suggests that they will tend to become more authoritarian and repressive at home and progressively resort to "hard power" abroad. Some observers argue that this process is already underway.

How civil society reacts to what may be the emergence of a new world order remains to be seen. Will civil unrest and violence become the norm, or will non-violent action become the response of choice? Or perhaps, as John Kampfner argues, the majority of people will be willing to sacrifice freedoms in return for security. As part of this, they may also accept a more militaristic foreign policy, as liberal democracy and regulated capitalism are increasingly weakened.

This linkage between civil resistance and power is the focus of this issue of TAP. It begins with an article written for Mahatma Gandhi's anniversary which considers whether his legacy is relevant to such a new world order.

It is a hundred years since a young Indian lawyer named Mohandas Gandhi launched, in South Africa, his first attempt at what we now call civil resistance. Across those years, civil resistance has become an increasingly important instrument of social and political change.

Were you to ask anyone to draw up a short list of the most inspiring leaders, movements and moments over these one hundred years, it would almost certainly include Gandhi (now better known as the Mahatma ("great soul")) and many of those he inspired: Martin Luther King, Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa, Nelson Mandela, Mikhail Gorbachev, Aung San Suu Kyi, the civil rights movements in the United States, Solidarity in Poland, "people power" in the Philippines, and assorted velvet and colour revolutions in other parts of the world.

Civil resistance does not merely interact with power politics, traditionally conceived. It has changed the very nature of power politics in our time. It challenges a still widespread assumption that military or coercive action ("hard power") is the most effective way of achieving change both within and between states.

But, as pacifists, we need to be aware that pacifism and non-violent action are not the same thing. Many people associate civil resistance with morality, goodness and even godly goodness. But the choice of non-violence has often been more pragmatic than principled, and often less unequivocal than is generally assumed (see *Civil resistance and power politics* in Book Look (page 7)). Even Gandhi countenanced the use of force under some circumstances. Only a very few of the leading actors in these histories are true pacifists, like the Theravada Buddhists in Burma.

We should also remember that this discourse is not only about high-profile people. Our member, Margaret Holmes died this year at age 100 after an outstanding life of pacifism and activism. She was president of Australian WILPF (which she established) and most noted for her campaign against the Vietnam War. Like Gandhi she had a holistic view of peacemaking (see page 6).

THE LEGACY OF GANDHI

TONY KEMPSTER

An abridged version of a lecture given by Tony Kempster at the Belfast-based Irish School of Ecumenics (a satellite of Trinity College, Dublin) in October 2009. It was to mark the UN Day of Nonviolence

Gandhi was one of the few men in history to fight simultaneously on moral, religious, political, social and economic fronts. His life and thought have had an enormous effect both within and outside India, and he continues to be widely revered as one of the greatest moral and political leaders of the twentieth century.



He was an inspiration for the leaders of many people's struggles during the 20th century and here I ask how relevant his heritage is to the world of the 21st century facing a perfect storm of threats, many exacerbated by the actions of western nations?

The two oldest questions in politics - ones with which he must have wrestled often - are still relevant today: to whom do we owe obligations and with whom do we feel solidarity. But, they are posed in a stark new way by the consequence of climate change. Will rich-country citizens really make big sacrifices to stop Bangladesh from disappearing in 25 years time? Is it even plausible to expect rich

Contents

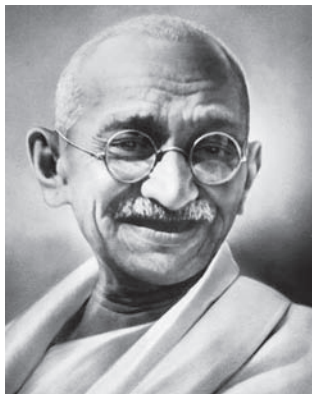
The legacy of Gandhi	1
Chairperson's report.	3
General Secretary's report	4
International page	6
Book Look	7
Diary of events. Notices.	8
Film Look	9
Accounts' page	10
Statement by APF Bishop Protector	11
The art of peace	12

countries to accept that the right to emit a given quantity of carbon should be shared equally across the world's population?

The real problem is not with politicians but with us. Except in wartime, western democracies are not good at appealing to citizens "better selves" to make sacrifices for their own futures – it is distance in time more than place that makes it so hard to respond to climate change.

The heritage

Opinions differ on the importance of Gandhi's heritage and are reviewed well by Stanley Wolpert in *Gandhi's passion* (2001, Oxford University Press). Critics would say he was implacably hostile to modernity and blind to its good points. Even the notion of universal love and indivisible humanity, which he cherished, are inconceivable outside the interdependent world brought about by modern civilisation. They would also say that he was basically a man of action and of his times, not a man of universal importance. And thirdly,



some would say that he was a hindrance to the development of radical political thought by a conservative, puritanical and essentially pacifist ideology.

Supporters would counter by saying that he saw through the madness of modernity, offering an alternative which avoided the self-indulgent individualism and moral complacency of modern civilisation. But above all there was his success in developing a uniquely moral method of political change, satyagraha which led to the greatest anti-colonial struggle in history. Doubts are, of course, raised about how it would fare against a brutal totalitarian state in a disordered world but, that is another matter.

But one could argue that all this is somewhat superficial and misses his real significance for the 21st century. He sought to live an original vision of human existence, based on asking the most searching questions about the traditional ways of thought and life. This led to a vision that was intensely moralistic and yet remained remarkably free from the utopianism and fanaticism because he took great care to ensure that it was not pervaded by the spirit of violence. His vision was more a moral compass. He also made allowance for the fact that individuals were bound to interpret and articulate the vision in different ways, and thus avoided dogmatism and fanaticism – encouraged compromise and accommodation.

But crucially, his willingness to live with the poorest in society consuming very little is an example to us all.

It is here where his relevance for today most strongly lies, because he would certainly have been opposed to the carbon costly and extravagant lifestyles of western countries and the way they are being adopted in India and particularly China as these countries become richer.

Further, as one belonging to a despised race in an oppressed country, he grasped the darker side of modern civilisation with unusual clarity. He saw that contrary to its self-understanding, modern civilisation was suffused with the spirit of aggression and violence, that morality was impoverished and shallow, that its approach to religion was excessively creedal and dogmatic.

The vision of a non-violent society

Deeply unhappy with the basic thrust of modern civilisation, Gandhi spent most of his adult life exploring the alternative. Gandhi saw human beings as the trustees of the rest of creation, interdependent and four dimensional in nature.

His good society includes the following principles:

- Informed by the spirit of cosmic piety. Nature should be respected and no demands made on it that are not required by a life of moderate comfort.
- Since human beings are interdependent, the society should discourage all forms of exploitation, injustice or inequality, and find ways to institutionalise love, truthfulness, social service, cooperation and solidarity.
- Since human beings are spiritual in nature, the society should help them develop their moral and spiritual powers.
- The society should cherish pluralism.

This is a philosophy which directly challenges characteristics of western culture which are responsible for the dangerous state of the world today.

Looking into the jaws of death

Humanity faces a perfect storm of threats which it may not survive (discussed in the previous TAP). I tend to be pessimistic about our future prospects believing that it may already be too late to avoid the worst depredations of climate change. If I am right and we do not find the political will to act, there is going to be an awful lot of suffering in the world.

Indeed, we may be setting ourselves up for despair if we think what is being done is going to be enough. And we set ourselves up to delude others with false hope if we tell them that all will be well. I believe we have to be prepared to look into the jaws of death. This implies a deeper agenda for people of faith and spirituality to build the reliance to face the future come what may. We have to continue with our work on climate change, on poverty, on anti-war but to do so with the spirit of the likes of Jeremiah as Alastair McIntosh said in his talk at Greenbelt 2009 (GB09-005. "The climate of the times").

Our small lives are important but they are not the only thing that is important – there is also the great pattern of our lives. We live the lives of our times, lives when we are gathered unto our people (as God put it to Moses). What happens to us in the big picture of things is just a small part of the gradual evolution, entering into full community with one another, with the earth and with God. I believe that Gandhi understood this well and that it informed his philosophy and gave him strength particularly when he used his body as a weapon on hunger strike.

The spiritual response to coming chaos is clearly to engage fully with the close up but also in our hearts to stand back and take a God's eye view of what is happening in the fullness of time, and be prepared for what might come to pass. Let us hope that we will see sense and prevent the collapse of civilisation. But if I am right and politically we are not able to take the necessary action, we must be prepared and rekindle the inner life and recover what it means to be truly human.

Unless the change takes place in our hearts, we cannot put it on the politicians or even the corporations to make the change, because when we look into the political mirror, it is our own faces as the voters and consumers that we shall uncomfortably see reflected back.

Such a view underlines the fact that climate change is not just a scientific issue. The notion is also a cultural and psychological phenomenon active across the full range of human endeavours. It is circulating anxiously in the worlds of domestic politics and international diplomacy, and with mobilising force in business, law, academia, development, welfare, religion, ethics, art and celebrity. Herein lie the opportunities for change.

Besides the threats there are also opportunities

Mike Hume, argues that instead of placing ourselves in a 'fight' against climate change, we should use it positively to reconsider how we live (In *Why we disagree about climate*

'Our small lives are important but they are not the only thing that is important – there is also the great pattern of our lives.'



Where should our loyalty lie?

► FROM THE CHAIRPERSON, MARY ROE

Dear Friends,

Last week, I was at a conference where we focused on the tension between following one's Christian conscience and solidarity with fellow believers, especially fellow Anglicans. Is a Covenant the way forward? Sadly, although we studied several potentially divisive issues, including women bishops, same-sex relationships and so on, no mention was made of the Gospel demand for followers of our Lord to refrain from violence and to be peacemakers – at least not on the programme. (The war in Iraq was mentioned from time to time among small groups in the bar at the end of the day's "serious" discussions.)

We pondered whether, although we all accept the view that Unity (not uniformity) among God's people is a step towards the Kingdom we seek daily, Unity be our main aim? Does God want us to sink our differences, or at least cover them up, in order to stand together against the world, the flesh and the devil? Or is Unity neither a means to an end nor an end in itself, but rather a consequence of each group of the faithful following Jesus to the best of their ability, starting where they are now, and so drawing closer to each other as they draw closer to him?

The question is, surely, "Where should our loyalty lie?" – to our Church, as representing Christ on earth, or to the risen, ascended Christ who is at one with God the Father and with the Holy Spirit?

And all the while, at the back of my mind, I had the account of a new Primate for Nigeria, from the previous week's Church of England Newspaper: Dr. Okoh has been chosen and I quote from his CV as it appeared in that paper:

"...a former army officer ...with the Federal forces in the Nigerian-Biafran Civil War...chaplain to the 2nd Mechanized Division HQ ...chaplain at St Augustine Military Church, ... deputy director of chaplaincy with the 3rd Armored Division in Jos, chaplain of St. Luke's Military Church ...and Headquarters Administrative Chaplain in Lagos."

Clearly, Dr. Okoh is a man of war, who puts his faith in the power of armed men and weaponry.

Archbishop Peter Jensen of Sydney has declared that he is pleased with the choice of Dr Okoh, as he was a founder member of GAFCON and is Chairman of the Theological Resources group of that conference. GAFCON is, as you know, the group which has separated from the Episcopal Church in the U.S. over the two issues I mentioned at the beginning of this letter. They do not agree that women can or should be priests, and certainly not bishops, and are totally opposed to the recognition of homosexual people as faithful Christians. No doubt it is his stance on these two matters which led to the comment of another member of GAFCON that, "*Archbishop Okoh is committed to spreading the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.*"

Really? I can't call to mind any occasion on which Jesus mentioned either women priests - although he did appoint Mary Magdalen to be the first witness of his resurrection - or homosexual orientation or relationships. He did, of course, tell us to love our enemies, and not to respond with violence even when attacked.

If the Unity of the church requires my abandoning my pacifism for the sake of loyalty to the church represented by Dr Okoh, then I have to say that although I am saddened by broken communion wherever it appears in the Body of Christ, I must follow as nearly as I can in the footsteps of Jesus, and commit myself, equally with Dr Okoh, to spreading the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as I understand it from my study of the Gospel.

Of course, loyalty to St Paul or even to the author of the book of Deuteronomy, when it clashes with loyalty to Jesus,

is a matter for the conscience of each one of us, including Dr Okoh and those who agree with him. I don't think, though, that St. Paul, for his part, ever intended to set up a rival Gospel to the one he proclaimed as best he could, in his day and situation. He, too, told us to render to no-one evil for evil, and to leave vengeance and judgment to God.

All we can do at the time is submit our thoughts, words and actions to the light of the Gospel and continue to pray for peace within and beyond the world-wide Christian church. Greetings to you all, and I wish you a fruitful Advent season (not far away now) and a very joyful Christmas, when we shall once again give thanks for God coming among us in our clamorous, contentious world. May God bless us all.

90 not out – best wishes to Philip Dransfield on his recent birthday

Philip has been a mainstay of APF over the years and made a particular contribution as literature officer writing some fine booklets including *What about Hitler?* and a riposte to Bertrand Russell's *Why I am not a pacifist*. He argued against receiving interest on investments and was strict in Christian discipline, keeping his income below taxable level in order to avoid providing military revenue.

Book review by Clive Barrett,

Kamila Shamsie (2009, Bloomsbury)

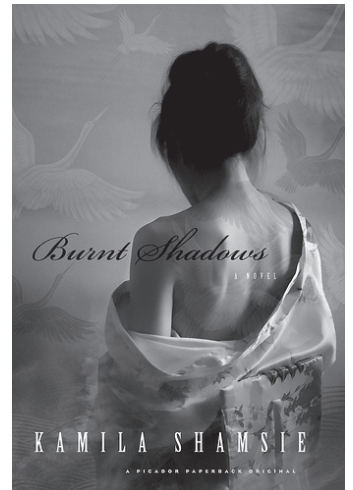
Burnt Shadows

When you first heard of the concentration camps, you said that you have to deny people their humanity in order to annihilate them. You don't. You just have to put them in a little corner of the big picture. In the big picture of the Second World War, what were seventy-five thousand Japanese dead at Nagasaki? Acceptable, that's what. And Afghan dead today...?

Such are the analysis and the questioning behind this beautifully written, Orange-shortlisted novel which moves from a young woman *hibakusha*, a Nagasaki survivor who refuses to define herself as such a victim, to a man who is caught up in America's struggles sixty years later. The canvas is broad, but using the former calamity to interpret the latter is powerful indeed. The

stepping stone is the Indian subcontinent, with the woman, Hiroko, moving to Delhi at the time of partition and eventually bringing up her son in the new state of Pakistan. The insights into the Nagasaki experience are gentle but profound; this is not an aggressive polemic, but a revelation of the consequences of human action through considering human stories. The last generation of British imperialists in India, the Afghan mujahideen, and even the CIA agents in Pakistan are all lived amongst and sympathetically portrayed, genuine people in a bigger picture. Through it all stands Hiroko, the uprooted woman who could never quite find belonging; as a result, she sees and feels that larger canvas, and has a uniquely critical insight.

Kamila Shamsie has produced a work of art which challenges us all. Whom do we cast into the corner of our bigger picture? Whose sacrifice do we regard as acceptable?



A critical time in world politics

► FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY
TONY KEMPSTER GIVES HIS REPORT

The times demand change; not just more of the same

Whatever one's beliefs or political persuasion, this must surely be seen as an extraordinary critical time in world politics. The clock is ticking on climate change and on further nuclear proliferation, such that decisions taken over the next 12 months may well determine whether humanity has a future or is destined for mass creative destruction.

The danger is that political leaders, because they have to satisfy short-term vested interests, will give us more of the same – merely marginal adjustments when a radical rebalancing of the way resources are used is necessary if we want a secure planet. They could, for example, use the \$1.4 trillion spent on the military each year to fund the technology needed to reduce CO2 levels by 2050, a cost that we are now told is also around \$1 trillion. They are also likely to be influenced by the fact that surveys show that the majority of people still do not regard climate change as a serious problem – a stark political failure in publicizing the issue.

The ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are a major waste of resources and sour international relations. President Obama has made the right noises about reducing military involvement but there is still much uncertainty about what will happen in Afghanistan following the rigged election and withdrawal from Iraq is delayed. The language that has dominated the last eight years has changed – yet the old logic appears to persist because of other political pressures.

Now is the moment to admit defeat and come home, but will he do it? And, of course, an end to the Afghanistan conflict would be the final unravelling of a grand narrative – the war on terror. Militarily, strategically, politically and diplomatically it has been an abject failure on its own terms. As a means of combating Islamism, facilitating democracy in the Middle East, integrating Muslims into the west and fighting terrorism it has proved not only ineffective but counterproductive. Having retired the term "war on terror" – it has now become "overseas contingency operations" – president Obama should now retire the war itself.

Iran and nuclear proliferation

Politicians have a tendency to overreact to risk, their policies when grappling with risk involves juggling logic and emotion and carefully considering the unintended consequences.

A serious consequence of President Ahmadinejad's re-election is the loss of the best-case scenario for dealing with Iran's nuclear ambitions – a reformist victory and a new Iranian government willing to stop short of turning into the world's 10th nuclear state. The scale of opposition protests suggests that change will come, but it may arrive later than sooner. In the meantime, we have an insecure conservative regime that hopes to shore up its fragile position by making national security the defining issue of domestic politics.

Waiting impatiently in the wings is a new hardline Israeli government which is unwilling to tolerate a nuclear-armed Iran and ready to bomb Iran's nuclear installations if they believed it necessary (possibly without USA support). President Obama has said he would not support Israel's military operations because of the wider repercussions from the Islamic world. The military strike might also fail.

It is time, therefore, for western leaders to consider if such an outcome would really be preferable to the alternative of adjusting to the prospect of an Iranian bomb. The world does not want nuclear proliferation, but we may have to live with a nuclear Iran at least in the short run.

APF at Greenbelt



APF took its place once again as part of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations in organizing the Peacezone at the Greenbelt Festival. This year over 20,000 people came to the event and a great many of those came through the Peacezone at some point over the weekend.

The focus this year was on creating a large peace mural over 30 feet long and 6 feet high. It included pictures of the great peacemakers of our time and from the past – Aung San Suu Kyi, Martin Luther King, Dorothy Day and St Martin of Tours. Greenbelters were encouraged to paint themselves into the peace picture as well. The idea was to engage Greenbelters with visualizing themselves in the work.

Another focus of the Peacezone was to undertake a survey of Greenbelters attitudes towards peace and conflict issues.

CCADD conference in Bratislava

In September I attended the international conference of the Council for Christian Approaches to Defence and Disarmament at the Comenius University in Bratislava where I gave a talk

entitled "Greening the road to hell" (in the last issue of TAP).



MAW's November programme

I chaired MAW's Remembrance Sunday lecture at the Imperial War Museum (London) given by Dr Mark Levene, Reader at Southampton University and a co-founder of Crisis Forum. His lecture was entitled "Weapons of the strong:

what will western states do in response to climate change?" and closely related to this issue of TAP. It was a forthright and stimulating delivery of a difficult subject. Please let me know if you would like a copy.

MAW also mounted an exhibition of quilts and arpilleras, curated by Roberta Bacic, in the Imperial War Museum on Remembrance Sunday and at other venues during November. This was entitled "The human cost of war" (see The art of peace, page 12).

The lead item for this exhibition was "Executed at dawn" a quilt made in remembrance of the 306 soldiers shot for "cowardice" in the First World War. Janet Booth, who led the successful campaign to obtain a pardon for these soldiers, one of which was her grandfather Harry Farr, came to the Imperial War Museum to speak about her experiences.

'An end to the Afghanistan conflict would be the final unravelling of a grand narrative – the war on terror.'



Roberta Basic speaking

A very interesting pair of round-table discussion are also being held at the Whitechapel Gallery as part of the "The nature of the beast" exhibition designed by Goshka Macuga (www.whitechapelgallery.org). We will report on these in the next issue of TAP.

And Still They Don't Listen!

This was the title of a two-day conference on Law and Accountability, held at Friends House, London at the beginning of September. It was organised by the Institute for Law & Peace with the support of MAW and other organisations. The aim was 1) to explore ways of approaching politicians and decision makers, getting them to genuinely listen and achieving a dialogue rather than the standard reply letter which doesn't answer the question/point you raised; getting those same politicians and decision makers to both understand law, particularly international law, and have due regard for it, and 2) to discuss how we combine our knowledge and experience for future campaigning?

The first day was given over to presentations from a broad range of speakers, laying out some of the problems we face as campaigners, but also informing us of some of the resources already available. From the review of international and domestic law given by Prof. Nick Grief and Rob Manson through to hearing from people at the sharp end (such as Angie Zelter on the Trident campaign, and the solicitor Gareth Pierce whose clients included the Tipton 3 and Moazzam Begg) the 90 plus delegates were given a wealth of information, even if not all of it was welcome!

MPs Norman Baker and Claire Short also added to the debate. Norman, who like Nick Grief, has an interest in the legality of US bases in Britain, warned us that MPs are "not the answer to everything", but encouraged our use of letters, surgery visits and, most importantly, the Freedom of Information Act. Claire spoke of the need to change people's perception of Britain's role in the world. Hanging on to our nuclear weapons and our "special relationship" with the US is like a little boy in the playground saying "my best friend is the school bully" – a humiliating and ridiculous position. We **must** raise the debate on what this country is for; what our foreign policy aims are.

The second day was broken up into discussion groups looking at the following questions:

- How best to approach MPs and decision makers
- How can we develop a bank of useful responses based on the advice of lawyers
- What can we learn from related work carried out by other organisations

- What systems can we set up for developing and monitoring our future work.

This was where the event really took off, with lots of useful ideas being put forward and experiences exchanged. The in-depth discussions that followed led to a better understanding of the problems we face and what we can do to address them. There were 16 sessions in all, giving participants the chance to



With Clare Short

explore all four questions, and each session had a recorder to note down the conclusions. These were all collated and reported on at the end of the day. As a break during the afternoon sessions Martin Birdseye spoke about his Morality of Nuclear Weapons flowchart. Defence Minister Bill Rammell appeared after the sessions ended to address the conference, and devoted most of his talk to how law-abiding the government is.

This event would not have been so successful without the huge effort put in by George Farebrother, for which we can only say a heartfelt Thank You!



Chairing the discussion with Armed Forces Minister, Bill Rammell

Harry Farr



A return visit

(and a personal link to the legacy of Gandhi and Mandela) by Sue Claydon, vice-chair

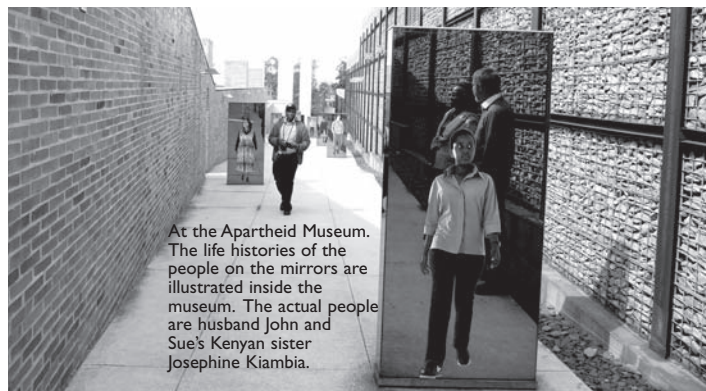
Going back to a place after decades, one expects to see changes. However, in a recent visit, I found myself affected to the core by the changes I experienced.

Like many journeys today, ours started with arriving at a new airport having the most up-to-date facilities of any we had experienced recently. The next part fitted a familiar pattern – scanning the waiting area for a face, although this one I had not seen for over 34 years! Suddenly, there she was. Like many around us there was a big embrace and kisses. We trailed our cases to the car park and took off onto the freeway. My husband, John later said if he had woken up suddenly, he might have thought he was in The States. But no, the buildings were all new, there were lots of road works and the cars were driving on the left. We were in South Africa. It was not until later that night (with reflection) that I realised why I had been so affected by our arrival.

The first time landed in Johannesburg was in 1971. The then Jan Smuts airport had a terminal more reminiscent of a railway station. The benches were the wood-slats variety, but what really affected me were the signs – blankes and nie-blankes. Those first few moments were my introduction to the word "Apartheid".

I was only there a short time before flying on to Lesotho and it would be many months before I would cross the border again. The second time was on Christmas Eve and it was to the small border town of Fickburg in the then Orange Free State. Here my Basotho friend put her shopping bag down on the pavement outside the tiny "supermarket". I went to follow and was told no, I did not have to, as I was white.

Over the next 3½ years I experienced (and challenged) many



of the rules of Apartheid (I could write pages on this). So, seeing high level airport jobs held by black South Africans, driving past so many beautiful homes, knowing they were not all owned by "whites" and seeing the multiracial advertising all brought home to me that I was truly in post-apartheid South Africa. The next morning this was impressed more on me when I attended one of the many huge churches in Jo'burg, where the "Rainbow Nation" was manifest in all its shades participating in joyful singing and dancing.

So, what was it that really moved me to tears when thinking about it (and still does)? It was the fact that our jubilant embrace at the airport might well have landed us in trouble 38 years earlier. You see meeting us was one of my Kenyan sisters. Josephine has been a professor at the University of Zululand since the early 90's. To have shown such affection between a white and black in the early 70's would bring a severe reaction – but in October 2009, no one even turned their head!

Sometimes working for peace and justice can seem a hard struggle. When I lived in Lesotho people did not speak about 'if' a bloody revolution would happen in South Africa, but only 'when'. While South Africa today has many problems that no

one can overlook, to stand with my arms around Josephine and realise that this had all changed without that 'bloody revolution' gave me such hope. I just wanted to share that with you.

Obituary of Margaret Holmes, APF member in Australia, who died age 100 in September

(summary from Michelle Cavanagh)

"The peace we seek must be based on justice and built by peaceable people, women and men who have not been frustrated in the achievement of their own highest potential and alienated from their world and from each other."

"The development we seek must be in harmony with nature, and must benefit those who have too little rather than too much."
MH

Margaret Holmes was a Christian pacifist who, in 1959, founded the NSW branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. With it she tackled Aboriginal rights, apartheid, chemical and biological warfare, prison reform, US bases and the nuclear arms race - but the Vietnam War was her biggest challenge.

When prime minister Robert Menzies addressed a public meeting at Hornsby following the reintroduction of compulsory military service, Margaret, knowing the value of dramatising



Margaret is third from the left.

issues, led a group of league members dressed in black veils as they slowly and silently walked out of the room handing out "We mourn for peace" leaflets. Later she led a delegation to lobby Malcolm Fraser, then minister for the army, asking him not to send conscripts to Vietnam. Other demonstrations followed.

In 1967, the Holmes went abroad again, to South Africa, where they visited the political activist Helen Joseph (then under house arrest), and the US, where they attended anti-war meetings and she spoke on radio explaining that many Australians did not believe they should be in Vietnam.

At 80, Margaret helped to organise the 24th Triennial International Congress of the the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Sydney. She was still being consulted and addressing audiences about peace well into her nineties.

From Zimbabwe

In his latest letter dated 26th October Cloud Mabaudi, APF member in Banket, Zimbabwe, calls upon "pacifists and all stakeholders in the fight for nonviolence and the upholding of law to stand with us in Zimbabwe in our endeavours to bring peace and reconciliation." He is in anguish at the lack of progress in the united government, Robert Mugabe's failure to honour agreements, and renewed threats of violence.

Please pray, then, with urgency, for Zimbabwe's Christian peacemakers. Mr. Mabaudi is also part of a group caring for about 20 orphans, and if you could contribute to a Christmas gift for them, please get in touch soon with Sue Gilmurray.

Book Look

► RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton (ed.) (2009)

Civil resistance and power politics: the experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present
Oxford University Press

This book covers most of the leading cases of civil resistance – non-violent action against challenges such as dictatorial rule, racial discrimination and foreign military occupation. It includes the actions master-minded by Gandhi, the US civil rights struggle in the 1960s, the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, the people power revolt in the

Philippines in the 1980s, the campaigns against apartheid in South Africa, the various movements contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Bloc in 1989-91, and, in this century, the “colour revolutions” in Georgia and Ukraine.

The book addresses the complex interrelationship between civil resistance and the other dimension of power: It explores the question of whether civil resistance should be seen as potentially replacing violence completely, or as a phenomenon that operates in conjunction with, and modification of power politics. It looks at cases where campaigns were repressed, including China in 1989 and Burma in 2007. It notes that in several instances, including Northern Ireland, Kosovo, and Georgia, civil resistance movements were followed by the outbreak of armed conflict. It also includes a chapter with new material from Russian archives showing how Soviet leadership responded to civil resistance.

Written by leading specialists, and illustrated throughout with historic photographs, it asks why some attempts at mass non-violent action succeeded in attaining their objectives while others failed. And it explores, rigorously and comparatively, the complex relationships between civil resistance and other factors of power, including war, economic failure and external intervention.

This is an important book if you wish to know about the historical application of non-violent action.

Lyn Smith (2009)

Voices against war: a century of protest
Imperial War Museum and Mainstream Publishing

On 15 February 2003, an estimated two million Britons took to the streets of London

to protest against the war in Iraq. Since the outbreak of that conflict, the anti-war movement has broadened and now has a global reach. Not all protesters would consider themselves

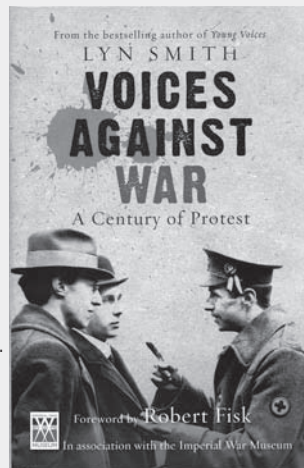
pacifists – against all wars and violence – but whatever the basis of the objection their protest is part of one of the most enduring movements in history.

Based on nearly 200 personal testimonies from the Imperial War Museum collections, this landmark book tells the stories of those who participated in protest – from the Great War of 1914-18 through the Second World War, the Cold War and up to the present including the Falkland Islands invasion in the early 1980s, the first Gulf War in 1990-91 and the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Every page contains a deep and moving insight into the motives and consciences of those who have opposed military conflict and the weapons of war, from 1914 to the present. The quotations speak for themselves, apart from Smith’s introductions at the beginning of each section. Moving and powerful contributions come from all classes. William Douglas-Home, brother of the Tory prime minister, Alec, was court-martialled for refusing to obey an order he believed would cause the deaths of French civilians. A A Milne moved in the other direction, from defence of pacifism to defence of the realm: the howitzer at Pooh Corner, as it were. *Voices against war* is a compelling emotional and very moving human story essential for understanding war in its entirety.



Editor’s note: Lyn Smith was a speaker at the Peace History Conference organised by the Movement for the Abolition of War at the Imperial War Museum earlier this year. See Diary of events for the details of this year’s events.

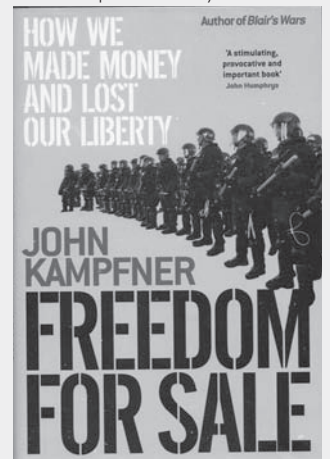


John Kampfner (2009)

Freedom for sale: how we made money and lost our liberty

Simon and Schuster

Why is it that so many people around the world appear willing to give up freedoms in return for either security or prosperity? For the past 60 years it had been assumed that capitalism was intertwined with liberal democracy, that the two not just thrived together but needed each other to survive. But what happens when both are undermined? Governments around the world – whether they fall into the authoritarian or the democratic camp – have drawn up a new pact with their peoples. There are its terms: repression is selective, confined to those who openly challenge the status quo, who publicly go out of their way to “cause trouble”. The number of people that fall into that category is actually very few. The rest of the population can enjoy freedom to travel, to live more or less as they wish, and to make and spend money. This is the difference between public freedoms and private freedoms. We choose different freedoms we are prepared to cede. We all do it. Freedom for sale sets a new agenda. Mixing narrative



from different countries around the world, it breaks new ground in revealing the extent to which the old assumptions and securities have died. It will crucially ask why so many intelligent and ambitious citizens around the world, particularly among the young, seemed to sacrifice freedom of the press and freedom of speech in their quest for wealth.

The fundamental questions of *Freedom for Sale* are posed with clarity. We in the west still swagger over a cold war won; we still see, if not the end of history, then a dividing line with grim things past; we still employ the verbiage of liberation, hope and achievement. Has the crunch squeezed all of that out of us? No, not quite. Business as usual remains somewhere on the back of the menu. But what does it amount to? Government by some of the people for some of the people (the ones who matter). Election by clique, twist and fiddle. Lip service to public service. And fear rippling onwards, as a rationale or excuse.

A new world order may well be upon us, and in this timely book, John Kampfner reveals how it may just be too late to stop.

Diary of Events

► LOCAL AND NATIONAL

3, 10 and 17 December Advent Vigil Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Establishment ((AWE). Contact: Caroline 01865 241 290 maasgilbert@hotmail.com

5 December National Climate March in London. 12 noon speakers at Hyde Park before the 'Wave' climate change to Parliament. Campaign against Climate Change, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX. 02078339311 info@campaigncc.org <http://www.campaigncc.org/>

28 December Holy Innocents' service at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. 10.30 am followed by a witness at the Innocent Victims' Memorial outside Westminster Abbey. Organised by APF under the auspice of the Network of Christian Peace Organisations. Call 01908 510642 for further information.

19-21 March Joint APF/MAW conference at The Friary of St Francis, Hilfield, Dorchester DT2 7BE. Contact the APF general secretary for further details.

16 – 17 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.

3 – 28 May Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in New York. Lots of useful information at: <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/npt/nptindex1.html>

16 January APF Annual General Meeting

to be held at The Bar Convent, 17 Blossom Street, York YO24 1AQ. We meet for a sandwich lunch at 12 noon and the AGM will follow at 1.00. A short Governing Body meeting will be held after the AGM. Please inform the general secretary, Tony Kempster (details on this page).

20 February Musicians Against Nuclear Arms (MANA) Concert for Peace. With: A return of the popular duo: Ruth Underwood, flute and Margaret Lion, piano. Hinde Street Methodist Church. Details from: 71 Greenfield Gardens, London NW2 1HU. 020 8455 1030. admin@mana.org.uk www.mana.org.uk

27 February Network for Peace Annual General Meeting will be held at the Friends Meeting House in Huddersfield. The meeting will start soon after lunch around 1.30pm.

15 May International Conscientious Objector's Day. www.wri-irg.org/co/15may.htm

21 September International Day of Peace. www.internationaldayofpeace.org/

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 rjpayne@02.co.uk.

OFFICERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

Chairperson, Mrs Mary Roe
1 North Lodge, Bicester House, Kings End, Bicester OX12 6NT
01869 321639
mary@roes.org.uk

Vice Chairperson: Mrs Sue Claydon
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Honorary Secretary: Dr Tony Kempster
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01908 510642 ajkempster@aol.com

Honorary Treasurer: Mr Roger Payne
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rjpayne@o2.co.uk

Membership Secretary: Mrs Sue Gilmurray
1 Wilford Drive, Ely CB6 1TL
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:

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

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

If you are sympathetic to the view expressed in the pledge but feel unable to commit yourself to it, you may like to become an associate of the APF and receive the Fellowship's newsletter and notice of our various open events, then please (✓) box **two**.

Send your completed form to the Membership Secretary:- **Sue Gilmurray, 1, Wilford Drive, Ely, Cambridgeshire, CB6 1TL.**

- ☐ I am in agreement with the pledge and wish to become a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.
☐ I wish to become an Associate of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

Name and designation (Rev'd, 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

Endgame (2009)

Directed by Pete Travis and based upon the book *The Fall of the Apartheid* by Robert Harvey

This is a Channel 4 film that takes place in the final days of apartheid. It concerns the secret talks that took place between the African National



Congress and the National Party in a country house in Somerset, and led to the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and, in the fullness of time, the end of apartheid. A particular focus is the emotional relationship that develops between Willie Esterhuyse, and Thabo Mbeki.

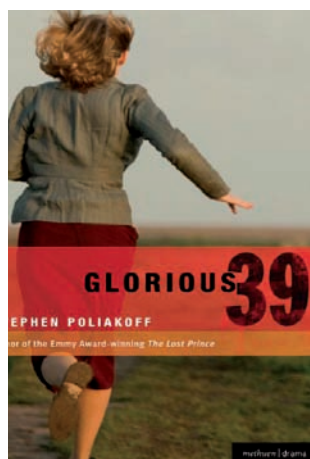
The film presents the astonishing fact that it was a corporate communications man who put the show on the road. In 1985, Michael Young, who was working for Consolidated Goldfields, a British company with South African interests, who had the foresight to see that his business's hope of Botha's government struggling on just a little longer while Consolidated continued to make money was madness. He set about getting the ANC and leading members of the Afrikaans community, Professor Willie Esterhuyse among them who chaired the negotiations.

Consolidated Goldfields was a company with interests in South Africa, the subject of sanctions by other nations. In one scene, Young and Rudolf Agnew, chairman of Consolidated Goldfields, leave their offices in London and are mobbed by anti-apartheid protesters who batter and chase their car, unaware that the two men are sponsoring the very talks that are leading to the end of the system they oppose.

Glorious 39 (2009)

Written and directed by Stephen Poliakoff

This film is mildly political; conservative with a lower-case c. It frolics in a land of idyllic hunting



grounds, picturesque castles. It is here to add some lightness to this issue of TAP but also because of the subject and the fact that many of the elements are claimed to be true, particularly the use of the

secret service by the Government (pre-Churchillian) to suppress all opposition to its policy of appeasement.

The main setting is England in the summer of 1939. In spite of the prospect of war, the English aristocracy is still enjoying a balmy existence. The society balls and country house parties continue as before. Young movie actress Anne Keyes is the adopted daughter of genial, Keats-loving Alexander Keyes. After serving in the First World War, Alexander, now a prominent politician, is terrified of Britain being plunged back into war. He seemingly tries to keep Anne, her brother Ralph and sister Celia safe from the ominous rumblings of the outside world. When Anne discovers secret Government documents and recordings stored in an outbuilding on the family estate, she realises that a violent conspiracy is afoot.



Poliakoff has said that many elements of *Glorious 39* are "true". The secret service really was used by Government, pre-Churchill, to suppress all opposition to its policy of appeasement. He shows the State behaving toward its own citizens with a viciousness that puts even the Stasi to shame. Opponents are blackmailed, intimidated, driven to suicide and even murdered. Even as this goes on, the aristocrats still behave as if they're characters in a PG Wodehouse comedy of manners.

The film deserves credit for offering a tangential spotlight on the motives of Neville Chamberlain's appeasers. In recent years Chamberlain has become adopted as a kind of cover-all bogeyman by neo-con pundits keen to justify the merits of "preventative war" on Iraq or Iran. *Glorious 39* at least roots this argument in its proper historical context. It shows how the pacifist counsel of the Great War survivors was hijacked and twisted by rogue elements within the Tory government; a cabal of influential aristocrats that was determined to preserve the status quo at any cost.

Katyn (2009)

Directed by Andrzej Wajda

It is arguable that no European country in the 20th century had more injury and infamy heaped upon it than Poland. Wajda's film focuses upon an historical episode that has come to symbolise, for so many, the agony of Poland. The Soviets, after their invasion, took prisoner nearly 18,000 Polish officers, many of them reservists who had been prominent in civilian and intellectual life, doctors, engineers and the like. As such, they represented the possibility of a

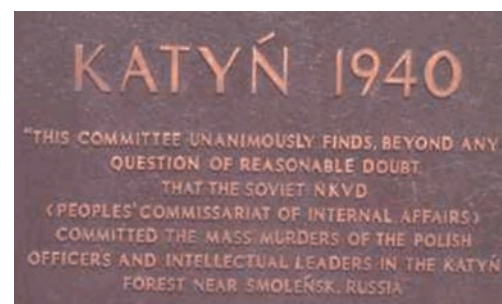
nation that could shape its own destiny – and therefore were a threat to Stalin's totalitarian scheme. In the spring of 1940, the Soviet secret police, on his orders, murdered almost 15,000 officer PoWs kept in various NKVD camps. Their bodies were dumped in mass graves, a large number of them in Katyn forest.



The massacre is not seen in dramatic terms until the very end of the film. Instead, Wajda concentrates upon a handful of women – two wives, a mother, a pair of sisters – who suffer through the war wondering what happened to their loved ones.

Wajda is addressing not just the pity of war but an actual war crime, and one whose afterlife became a waking nightmare of recrimination and falsehood. Both Nazis and Soviets used Katyn as a tool of propaganda. First, the Germans dug up the corpses in the forest and condemned the Bolshevik terror; later, when the war turned, the liberating Red Army laid blame for the atrocity on the Nazis.

"Katyn" feels like a film that Wajda had to make. Having turned 83 in March, the director has lived with his own anguish about the event for almost 70 years. He has said that Katyn, the history, is about two things, the crime and the lie: his dilemma was deciding which one the film should



address. If the crime, it was about his father; one of the officers murdered in the forest; if the lie, it was about his mother; whom he watched wither and fade once she realised her husband was not coming home. In the end, of course, it is about both. The poignancy of it is the lie, which the Poles had to live with until as late as 1990, when the USSR finally admitted that the massacre was ordered by Stalin and carried out by the NKVD. The existence of this film counteracts that pessimism, though it would be hard to call it life-affirming. It is too riven with grief and horror for that, too aware of what Poland has suffered for it to be anything but a deeply sombre memorial.

Accounts for the year ended 5/4/2009

Treasurer's comments

These accounts have been prepared wholly on a receipts and payments basis in accordance with the requirements of the Charity Commissioners. Income has recovered, from last years low, by increased subscription reminder activity. Excess expenditure (over income) is £4084, but with this years Gift Aid reclaim outstanding the real deficit was £2357. This was good considering the increased expenditure for Lambeth. Lambeth expenditure was lower than budgeted (£4800) by some £1367. The reserves are sufficient to meet the policy requirement to maintain more than one years normal expenses. A copy of the Independent Examiners report is available and will be included in the annual return to the Charity Commissioners.

Roger Payne

1. Receipt & Payments Account (General Purpose Fund)

		2008/2009	2007/2008
		£	£
Receipts	Notes		
Subscriptions	a1	10525.10	12179.33
Donations & Legacies	a2	145.89	50.05
General Activities	a3	4441.09	65.50
Income from Assets	a4	872.48	1245.83
Miscellaneous	a5	169.35	0.00
Total Receipts		16153.91	13540.71
Payments			
Administration	b1	3235.32	4318.58
Literature & Publications	b2	9647.99	8851.71
Conferences and Retreats	b3	6706.78	699.48
Affiliations & Grants	b4	470.00	905.00
Total Payments		20060.09	14774.77
Net Receipts/(Payments)		-3906.18	-1234.06

Cash Funds **-5140.24** -1234.06

2. Receipt & Payments Account (NZ Literature Fund)

Receipts			
Grant from NZ APF		0.00	0.00
Income from Assets		22.61	43.76
Payments			
Literature & Publications		200.00	200.00
Net Receipts/(Payments)		-177.39	-156.24
Cash Funds		-333.63	-156.24

3. Statement of Assets and Liabilities

Monetary Assets			
CBF Deposit Fund		18473.34	21973.34
National Westminster Current Account		323.73	848.73
Paypal Account		3.50	62.07
Total Monetary funds		18800.57	22884.14
Debtors			
Income tax recoverable	c1	1726.81	166.55
Liabilities			
Creditors		0.00	0.00
Non-Monetary Assets			
Literature stocks	d1	531.69	1614.05
Office furniture and equipment	d2	4669.99	4164.74

INDEPENDENT EXAMINERS REPORT

I have examined the relevant books and vouchers and am satisfied that the above account is correct.

An Independent Examiners report has been submitted to the Governing Body.

Signed Richard Harries dated 05.09.2009

Notes to accounts	General Purpose Funds		
		2008/2009	2007/2008
		£	£
RECEIPTS			
Note a1: Subscriptions			
Annual Subscriptions		4032.56	4664.14
Gift Aid Subscriptions & Donations		6492.54	4982.70
Income Tax Refunds		0.00	2532.49
Sub Total		10525.10	12179.33
Note a2: Donations			
Donations		145.89	50.05
Legacies & Estates		0.00	0.00
Sub Total		145.89	50.05
Note a3: General Activities			
Sale of Literature, badges, etc.		457.39	49.50
Sale of Finest Hour CD's & Tapes.		15.00	16.00
APF Conferences & Retreats		3583.00	0.00
Lambeth 2008		385.70	
Sub Total		4441.09	65.50
Note a4: Income from Assets			
Deposit Interest		872.48	1213.80
HMRC Interest		0.00	32.03
Sub Total		872.48	1245.83
Note a5: Miscellaneous			
Insurance refund		15.34	0.00
Cancelled Cheques		154.01	0.00
Sub Total		169.35	0.00

PAYMENTS

	2008/2009	2007/2008
	£	£
Note b1: Administration		
Travelling	1366.93	1696.63
Advertising	0.00	313.50
Stationery and Printing	234.70	320.59
Office Expenses	630.00	845.00
Postage	325.36	122.46
Hire of Rooms	146.21	293.51
Conference Fees	0.00	200.00
Insurances	530.62	506.89
Sundries (Paypal fees)	1.50	20.00
Sub Total	3235.32	4318.58
Note b2: Literature and Publications		
Anglican Peacemaker Postage & Printing inc. Annual report	7683.35	8257.12
Literature, badges, web site, CD's	1964.64	594.59
Sub Total	9647.99	8851.71

Note b3: Conferences & Lambeth		
Conferences & Retreats	3273.52	699.48
Lambeth 2008	3433.26	
Sub Total	6706.78	699.48
Note b4: Affiliations and Grants		
Affiliations	30.00	555.00
Donations	440.00	350.00
Sub Total	470.00	905.00

Non-Monetary Assets

	2008/2009	2007/2008
	£	£
Note c1: Income tax and Gift Aid		
Only money recovered in the year is shown as receipts		
Further amounts recoverable for the year is shown as Debtors (£1726.81)		

Note d1: Stocks of publications		
Consists of 45 different types of leaflets, CD's, tapes, books used to promote the work of APF.		
Publications are valued at realisable cost.	Total Value	531.69 1614.05
Note d2: Office Furniture and Equipment		
Items are valued at cost.	Purchase Date	
HP Printer - scrapped Jan 2008	May-96	0.00 0.00
Display Boards	May-98	480.58 480.58
Fujitsu notebook computer	Dec-01	762.55 762.55
HP Computer	Dec-01	629.78 629.78
Software	Dec-01	309.14 309.14
Dell notebook computer and software	Feb-04	1583.21 1583.21
Projector	Sep-07	399.48 399.48
Banners	Jul-08	505.25
Sub Total		4669.99 4164.74

This House takes note of matters relating to future defence policy

The Rt Revd Peter Price, APF's Bishop Protector spoke during a debate in the House of Lords on 6 November on the following topic: **That this House takes note of matters relating to Her Majesty's Armed Forces and of future defence policy.**



The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells: My Lords, from these Benches I, too, express our condolences to the families of those who lost their lives in recent days.

Earlier this year, I had the privilege of visiting the Messines Ridge as part of a pilgrimage to the Flanders battlefields. Later that week, I had the privilege of taking the service at the Menin Gate. During that ceremony, at the end of the gate were two recently trained squads of young soldiers from Catterick. I was asked to speak to them, which I was delighted to do, and I asked each one in turn, "Where are you going, sir?". The responses were Northern Ireland, Afghanistan or Iraq. It was particularly poignant in that place, in which many thousands have no known grave, to be standing beside young men who were brave and willing to go to fight for their country yet again.

War and its consequences remain among the biggest issues for humanity to resolve. We must have a better way for the future. Perhaps I may dare to presume on the metaphor of an unexploded bomb – a bomb which we are sitting on at present. It is called Trident. I am delighted that Members of this House, including former Defence Ministers and service chiefs, have set up a cross-party group to promote nuclear disarmament as an issue which they describe as critical. Lord King, is a member, as are other noble and gallant Lords.

George Shultz, who was a consummate Cold War warrior, recently stated that he believed that nuclear disarmament was an idea whose time had come. He said that here was a weapon that had the power to wipe out big swathes of humanity, asked how anyone had the right to use such a weapon, and concluded that there was no morality to it at all. The Minister indicated that the issue of nuclear weaponry is under review—and rightly so. Next year will mark the review of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and it is entirely the responsibility of all signatories, of which the UK is one, to consider their current positions in respect of non-proliferation.

I am not an impossibilist, which I was once accused of being by Des Browne on "Channel 4 News". I recognise that it takes time to dismantle nuclear weapons. However, we need to realise that the desired result is imperative and we can make a distinctive and important contribution at this moment in history by not renewing the Trident weapons system. This will have two effects. First, it will declare our continued commitment to nuclear non-proliferation and, secondly, it will make resources available for the kind of conflicts which the Minister has outlined as being integral in the defence strategy of the future.

I hope that in this debate and in the future defence policy of this country, we can make a clear decision that it is time to bring an end to nuclear weapons of all kinds, and at this moment take the lead in making non-proliferation a reality.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO

change: understanding controversy, inaction and opportunity, 2009 Cambridge University Press). How could we use the idea of climate change to support various projects, and how – paradoxically – we could use it to make the world a better place.

He suggests we rethink the problem of climate change in terms of four enduring myths – that is myths in an

anthropological sense – stories that embody deeper assumptions about the world around us. (And this also provides an interesting view of Gandhian philosophy.)

Hume's four myths are:

The apocalyptic myth which talks about climate in the language of fear and disaster and reveals our endemic worry about the future, but also acts as a call to action.

The promethean myth which talks about climate as something we must control, revealing our desire for dominance and mastery over nature but also that we lack the wisdom and humility to exercise it.

The edenic myth which talks about the climate change using the language of lament and nostalgia, revealing our desire to return to a simpler, more innocent era. In this myth, climate is cast as a part of a fragile natural world that needs to be protected.

The themisian myth named after the Greek goddess of natural law and order, talks about climate using the language of justice and equity. Climate change becomes an idea around which calls for environmental justice are announced, revealing the human urge to right wrongs.

Climate change also teaches us to rethink what we really want for ourselves and humanity. The four mythical ways of thinking about the human condition are both comforting and disturbing. Gandhian philosophy relates entirely to the third and fourth. The first two are redundant because his action is inspired by respect for nature not the fear of apocalypse and there is no drive to control.

Climate change allows us to examine our projects more closely and more honestly than we used to, whether they be projects of trade, community building, poverty reduction, demographic management, social and psychological health, personal well-being and individual rights or self-determination.

This means asking both "what is the impact of this project on the climate?" and also "how does the reality of climate change alter how we can achieve this goal?"

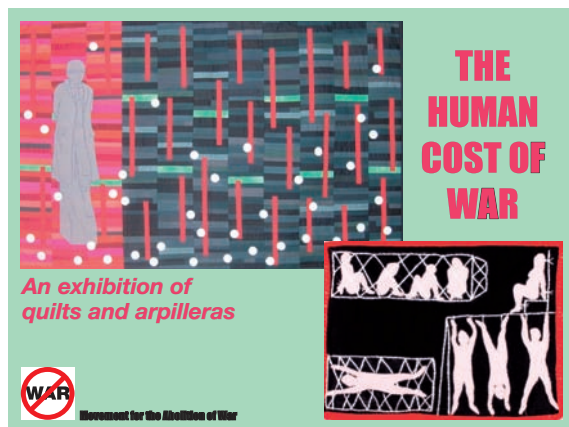
Having established that climate change is as much an idea as a physical phenomenon, we can deploy it in a positive and creative way. It can stimulate new thinking about technology. It can inspire new artistic creations. It can also provoke new ethical and theological thinking. It can arouse new interest in how science and culture interrelate. It can galvanise new social movements to explore new ways of living in urban and rural settings. It can touch each one of us as we reflect on the goals and values that matter to us.

These thoughts can also lead to a certain optimism. What most people believe and what actually happens in the aftermath of a disaster are two different things. The movies, the media, and the authorities have too often insisted that we are chaotic, selfish species and ought to fear each other. Yet in the wake of almost every major disaster a wave of altruistic and brave improvisation saves lives, forms communities and shapes the survivors' experiences.

In her recent book, Rebecca Solnit even argues that the most startling thing about disasters is not merely that so many people rise to the occasion, but they do so with joy (*A paradise built in hell: the extraordinary communities that arise in disaster*, 2009 Viking). That joy reveals an ordinary unmet yearning for community, purposefulness, and meaningful work that disaster often provides. These spontaneous acts, emotions, and communities suggest that many of the utopian ideals of the past century are not only possible, but latent in everyday life. Solnit's book points to a new vision of what society could become – one that is less authoritarian and fearful, more collaborative and local. Indeed, Gandhian.

'We can make a clear decision that it is time to bring an end to nuclear weapons of all kinds.'





In November, Movement for the Abolition of War organised an exhibition of quilts and arpilleras (South American appliqué textile pictures) from different countries, created by women in response to violence and conflict. The exhibition was both the centre and backdrop to a series of debates and events at three different venues, the Imperial War Museum, St Ethelburga's Centre for Reconciliation and Peace and the Whitechapel Gallery.

The exhibition, which was curated by Roberta Bacic, comprised 22 items. One of them is shown below.



(Cast lead (1.6 x 1.1m) by Heidi Drahota. Operation "Cast lead" was the Israeli military offensive against Gaza at the turn of 2009.

A catalogue has been produced with photographs of all of the items and their provenience. Please send a cheque for £2 to MAW distribution, 1 Thesiger Road, Abingdon OX14 2DY.

Sue Gilmurray wrote a song specifically for the exhibition. Two of its four verses are given below.

"And the women sew"

When the times are hard and the going's tough,
when you work all day and it's not enough,
when there is no bread and the children cry,
and the menfolk curse, and the women sigh,
then the women sew,
and their stitches speak
of a spirit strong
though the bodies weak:
with a grip on love
and they won't let go,
see their fingers care
as the women sew.



The Anglican PEACEMAKER

November 2009

Yes, the women sew, and their stitches hold,
till the picture's made and the story's told,
with a grip on life that they won't let go,
see their fingers heal as the women sew.

Yes, the women sew,
and their stitches hold,
till the picture's made
and the story's told,
with a grip on life
that they won't let go,
see their fingers care
see their fingers fight,
see their fingers build,
see their fingers heal
as the women sew.

Adrian: Scotland celebrates Adrian Mitchell

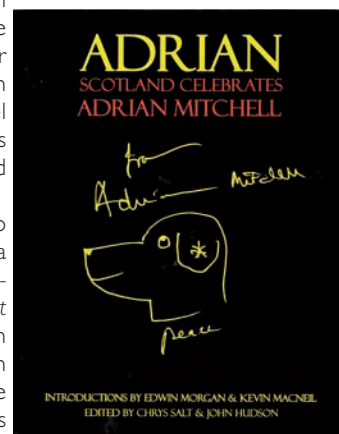
Chrys Salt and John Hudson (eds) 2009 Markings

In TAP 9.1 we included a brief obituary of Adrian Mitchell who died in October last year. An anthology of poetry has now been published to celebrate his life. It includes contributions from over 40 major Scots poets, including Edwin Morgan, Liz Lochhead, Vicki Feaver, Tom Hubbard, Jackie Kay, Tom Pow and others like Sir Paul McCartney, Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy, Pulitzer Prize nominee Martin Espada with Michael Horowitz, Bernard Kops and Pete Brown and many more.

Adrian Mitchell - who described himself as a *mixed lefty, a socialist-anarchist-pacifist-Blakeist-revolutionary* - wrote with simplicity and humour on subjects and folks he cared about. His work is fierce, courageous and accessible. He maintained his determination for and his commitment to peace until the day he died.

The book is available from www.markings.org.uk and The Bakehouse, 44 High Street, Gatehouse of Fleet, Dumfries and Galloway, DG7 2HP Tel: 01557 814175. The price is £10.95 inc. p&p.

A proportion of the sales are being donated to MAW, an organization who's aims were dear to Adrian's heart. MAW is organizing an event with the publishers at the Imperial War Museum on 16 April 2010 with music and readings by a number of the contributors to the anthology.



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 January 31 2010).

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